

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION,
HELD AT
CHICAGO, MAY 16, 17 AND 18, 1860.

At 12 o'clock on Wednesday, the 16th day of May, 1860, the delegations from various states of the Confederacy, appointed in pursuance of a call issued by the Republican National Committee, assembled in the Wigwam, at Chicago.

HON. EDWIN D. MORGAN, of New York, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, called the Convention to order. He said :

On the twenty-second of December last, the Republican National Committee, at a meeting convened for the purpose in the city of New York, issued a call for a National Convention, which I will now read :

“A National Republican Convention will meet at Chicago, on Wednesday, the 16th day of May next, at twelve o'clock, noon, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President at the next election.

“The Republican electors of the several states, the members of the People's Party of Pennsylvania and of the Opposition Party of New Jersey, and all others who are willing to co-operate with them in support of the candidates which shall there be nominated, and who are opposed to the policy of the

present administration, to federal corruption and usurpation, to the extension of slavery into the territories, to the new and dangerous political doctrine that the constitution of its own force carries slavery into all the Territories of the United States, to the opening of the African slave trade, to any inequality of rights among citizens; and who are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, under the constitution recently adopted by its people, of restoring the federal administration to a system of rigid economy and to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, of maintaining inviolate the rights of the states and defending the soil of every state and territory from lawless invasion, and of preserving the integrity of this Union and the supremacy of the constitution and laws passed in pursuance thereof against the conspiracy of the leaders of a sectional party, to resist the majority principle as established in this government even at the expense of its existence, are invited to send from each state two delegates from every congressional district, and four delegates at large, to the Convention."

EDWIN D. MORGAN, New York, Chairman.

JOSEPH BARTLETT, MAINE.

GEORGE G. FOGG, New Hampshire.

LAWRENCE BRAINARD, Vermont.

JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts.

GIDEON WELLES, Connecticut.

THOMAS WILLIAMS, Pennsylvania.

GEORGE HARRIS, Maryland.

ALFRED CALDWELL, Virginia.

THOMAS SPOONER, Ohio.

CASSIUS M. CLAY, Kentucky.

JAMES SHERMAN, New Jersey.

CORNELIUS COLE, California.

JAMES RITCHEY, Indiana.

NORMAN B. JUDD, Illinois.

ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, Michigan.

JOHN H. TWEEDY, Wisconsin.

ALEXANDER RAMSEY, Minnesota.

ANDREW J. STEVENS, Iowa.

ASA S. JONES, Missouri.

MARTIN F. CONWAY, Kansas.

LEWIS CLEPHANE, District of Columbia.

WILLIAM M. CHACE, Rhode Island.

O. P. SCHOOLFIELD, Tennessee.

E. D. WILLIAMS, Delaware.

In compliance therewith, the people have sent representatives here to deliberate upon measures for carrying into effect the objects of the call.

Usage has made it my duty to take the preliminary step toward organizing the Convention—a Convention upon the proceedings of which, permit me to say, the most momentous results are depending. No body of men of equal number was ever clothed with greater responsibility than those now within the hearing of my voice. You do not need me to tell you, gentlemen, what this responsibility is. While one portion of the adherents of the National administration are endeavoring to insert a slave code into the party platform, another portion exhibits its readiness to accomplish the same result through the action of the Supreme Court of the United States [applause]; willing by indirection to do that which, if done directly, would bring a blush even to the cheek of modern Democracy. [Cheers and laughter.]

While these and other stupendous wrongs, absolutely shocking to the moral sentiment of the country, are to be fastened upon the people by the party in power, if its leaders are able to bring the factious elements that compose it into any degree of unanimity, there seems left no ray of hope except in the good sense of this Convention. [Great applause.]

Let me then invoke you to act in a spirit of harmony, that by the dignity, the wisdom and the patriotism displayed here you may be enabled to enlist the hearts of the people, and to

strengthen them in the faith that yours is the constitutional party of the country, and the only constitutional party; that you are actuated by principle, and that you will be guided by the light and by the example of the fathers of the republic. [Renewed cheers].

Fortunately you are not required to enunciate new and untried principles of government. This has been well and wisely done by the statesmen of the revolution. [Applause.] Stand where they stood, avowing and maintaining the like objects and doctrines; then will the end sought be accomplished; the constitution and the Union be preserved; and the government be administered by patriots and statesmen.

For temporary President, I now nominate Hon. DAVID WILMOT, of Pennsylvania. [Great and prolonged applause.]

The nomination was acceded to by the unanimous voice of the Convention, and the Chairman appointed Hon. WM. L. MARSHALL, of Maryland, and Hon. C. F. CLEVELAND, of Connecticut, to conduct the temporary President to the Chair.

The appearance of Mr. WILMOT was made the opportunity for loud and prolonged manifestations of applause.

In introducing the temporary President to the Convention Gov. CLEVELAND said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I have now the high honor of introducing to the Convention a gentleman whose name is known to every lover of liberty throughout this land, the Hon. DAVID WILMOT, of Pennsylvania—a man who dares to do the right, regardless of consequences. With such men for our leaders and spokesmen, there is no such word as fail. [Loud cheers.]

On taking the Chair, Mr. WILMOT said:

I have no words in which properly to express my sense of honor—and the undeserved one, I think it is—of being called upon to preside temporarily over the deliberations of this Convention. I shall not attempt a task which I feel inade-

quate to perform. Be sure, gentlemen, that I am not insensible to this high and undeserved honor. I shall carry the recollection of it, and of your manifestation of partiality, with me until the day of my death. It is not necessary for me, gentlemen, delegates, to remind you of the importance of the occasion that has called this assemblage together; nor of the high duties which devolve upon you. A great sectional and aristocratic party, or interest, has for years dominated with a high hand over the political affairs of this country. That interest has wrested, and is now wresting, all the great powers of this government to the one object of the extension and nationalization of slavery. It is our purpose, gentlemen, it is the mission of the Republican party and the basis of its organization, to resist this policy of a sectional interest. It is our mission to restore this government to its original policy, and place it again in that rank upon which our fathers organized and brought it into existence. It is our purpose and our policy to resist these new constitutional dogmas that slavery exists by virtue of the constitution wherever the banner of this Union floats. It is our purpose to restore the constitution to its original meaning; to give to it its true interpretation; to read that instrument as our fathers read it. [Applause] That instrument was not ordained and established for the purpose of intrenching slavery within the limits of this country; it was not ordained and established for the purpose of giving high guarantees and securities to that institution. Our fathers regarded slavery as a blot upon this country. They went down into their graves with the earnest hope and confident belief that but a few more years and that blot would be extinguished from our land. [Much applause.] This was the faith in which they died. [Applause.] Had the proposition been presented to them in the early conflicts of the revolution, or outside of that grand movement, that they were called upon to endure the hazards, trials and sacrifices of that long and perilous contest for the purpose of establishing on this continent a great slave empire, not one of them would have drawn his sword in such a cause. [Great

applause] No, citizens! This republic was established for the purpose of securing the guarantees of liberty, of justice and of righteousness to the people and to their posterity. That was the great object with which the revolution was fought, these were the purposes for which the union and constitution were formed. Slavery is sectional. Liberty national. [Immense applause.] Fellow citizens: need I remind this intelligent and vast audience—need I call to mind to the intelligent gentlemen who represent the various states represented upon this floor—manifestations of lawless violence, of tyranny such as the world never saw in a civilized and Christian land that is manifested by this spirit of slavery. Whose rights are secure where slavery has the power to trample them under foot? Who to-day is not more free to utter his opinions within the empire of Russia, or under the shadow of the despotism of Austria than he is within the limits of the slave states of this Republic? Will their tyranny be confined to those states when they have the power to enforce it upon us? [Voices—“No! never!”] We owe the liberty which we to-day enjoy in the free states, to the absence of slavery. And, fellow citizens, shall we, in building up this great empire of ours, in fulfilling that high and sacred trust imposed upon us by our fathers—shall we support this blighting, this demoralizing institution throughout the vast extent of our borders? [Voices, loudly—“No!”] Or shall we preserve this land as a free land to our posterity forever? These are the principles for which the Republican party is struggling. Fellow citizens, the safety of our liberty, the security of all we hold valuable, demands that we should take possession of this government and administer it upon those broad constitutional doctrines that were recognized for the first sixty years of the existence of our government—that were recognized by Washington, by Jefferson, by Adams, by Madison, by Monroe, by Adams the younger, by Jackson, by Van Buren, even down to the time of Polk, when this new dogma was started that the constitution was established to guarantee to slavery perpetual existence and unlimited empire. Invoking, fellow

citizens, a spirit of patriotism and harmony, and trusting that that spirit will guide us to a fortunate result in our deliberations, I will now enter upon the discharge of the duties which have been assigned to me. [Great applause.]

Hon. THOMAS SPOONER, of Ohio, moved that Frederick Hassaurek, of Ohio, Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York, and Henry T. Blow, of Missouri, be elected temporary Secretaries.

The motion was carried unanimously.

The PRESIDENT then introduced the Rev. Z. H. HUMPHREY, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, of Chicago, who addressed the Throne of Grace in the following prayer :

Oh, Lord God! Thou art great and greatly to be praised. We come before Thy Throne to worship and also to learn Thy will. We invoke Thy presence and Thy blessing, as we gather beneath this roof to-day. We praise Thee for what Thou art, and for what Thou hast done for us. Verily, "our lines have fallen to us in pleasant places, and we have a goodly heritage." Thou hast strengthened the bars of our gates, and placed our children within them. Thou hast made peace in our borders, and filled us with the finest of the wheat. Thou hast not dealt so by any nation. As for Thy judgments we have not known them; and yet we confess that we have deserved to suffer for we have sinned against Thee. We entreat Thy forgiveness for all our transgressions, and Thy protection from all consequences of sin. We pray for our common country. We ask that Thou wilt deliver us from all the evil to which we are exposed, and that Thou wilt make us to shake off and put away all those evils which we are too apt to cherish. Wilt Thou bless our rulers, and teach them to govern in the fear of God, and in the love of man. Wilt Thou deliver us from corruption, from oppression and from selfish ambition. Show us Thy way of rescuing the oppressed from the house of bondage, and of making this country truly and consistently free. We crave Thy blessing upon this Convention, and pray that Thou wilt enable all those who are

here gathered to act, amid the excitements of the hour, as feeling their responsibility to their fellow men, and as knowing that they will one day stand before Thee. Wilt Thou bless us in all that we do? Wilt Thou rule amid all the conflicts of opinion and the strifes of parties; and may the issue be for Thy glory, and for our good. May there be no strife, but that of brethren loving, while yet in opinion disagreeing. Let not the ploughshare of division be permanently driven through our fair land. May we live as a Christian country; and though we put not our trust in princes, may we be that happy land whose God is the Lord, which we ask through Jesus Christ, our Saviour: Amen!

Mr. NORMAN B. JUDD, of Illinois, moved that a committee, consisting of one delegate from each state and territory represented in the Convention, or selected by the delegates thereof, who should report officers to the Convention for its permanent organization.

The motion was carried.

Mr. JUDD moved that the roll of both states be now called for the purpose of selecting the committee.

The motion was carried.

The states were then called, and the committee constituted as follows:

<i>Maine</i> ,.....	Leonard Andrews.
<i>Vermont</i> , ...	Hugh L. Henry.
<i>New Hampshire</i> , ...	Aaron H. Cragin.
<i>Massachusetts</i> , ...	Linus B. Comins.
<i>Connecticut</i> , ...	Arthur B. Calef.
<i>Rhode Island</i> , ...	Simon H. Greene.
<i>New York</i> , ...	Henry H. Van Dyck.
<i>New Jersey</i> , ...	Ephraim Marsh.
<i>Pennsylvania</i> ,.....	T. J. Coffey.
<i>Delaware</i> ,.....	Joshua T. Heald.
<i>Maryland</i> , ...	James Jeffries.
<i>Virginia</i> , ...	Edward M. Norton.

<i>Ohio</i> , ...	V. B. Horton.
<i>Indiana</i> , ...	P. A. Hackleman.
<i>Illinois</i> , ...	William Ross.
<i>Michigan</i> , ...	Walter W. Murphy.
<i>Wisconsin</i> , ...	John P. McGregor.
<i>Iowa</i> , ...	James F. Wilson.
<i>Minnesota</i> , ...	Simeon Smith.
<i>Missouri</i> , ...	Allen Hammer.
<i>Kansas</i> , ...	A. C. Wilder.
<i>California</i> , ...	Samuel Bell.
<i>Oregon</i> , ...	Frank Johnson.
<i>Kentucky</i> , ...	Allen A. Burton.
<i>Texas</i> , ...	M. T. E. Chandler.
<i>Nebraska</i> , ...	O. H. Irish.
<i>District Columbia</i> , ...	George B. Hall.

A delegate from Kentucky suggested that the names of all the states of the Union be called.

The PRESIDENT then proceeded to call Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina.

No responses were made to the calls.

Hon. JACOB BENTON, of New Hampshire, moved that a committee, consisting of one delegate from each state and territory represented in the Convention, be selected by the delegates thereof, to act on the credentials of delegates, rules and appointments, and that they be instructed to make a report of the number, name and post office address of each delegate, together with rules for the government of the Convention.

A delegate from Indiana suggested that the motion of Mr. BENTON be divided — that two committees be appointed, one on CREDENTIALS, and the other on the ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. SPOONER, of Ohio: If I understand, it is intended that we should have two committees, or it was so suggested by

the Executive Committee, and we had acted in accordance with that suggestion. I would suggest that there be simply a Committee on Credentials.

Mr. BENTON accepted the amendment proposed by the delegate from Indiana, and the PRESIDENT called the will of the states, and the committee was constituted as follows:

<i>Maine</i> , ...	Rensselaer Cram.
<i>New Hampshire</i> , ...	Jacob Benton.
<i>Vermont</i> , ...	Edward C. Redington.
<i>Massachusetts</i> , ...	Timothy Davis.
<i>Connecticut</i> , ...	E. K. Foster.
<i>Rhode Island</i> , ...	Benedict Lapham.
<i>New York</i> , ...	Palmer V. Kellogg.
<i>New Jersey</i> , ...	Moses M. Webb.
<i>Pennsylvania</i> , ...	J. N. Purviance.
<i>Delaware</i> , ...	Lewis Thompson.
<i>Maryland</i> , ...	William E. Cole.
<i>Virginia</i> , ...	Jacob Hornbrook.
<i>Kentucky</i> , ...	Charles Pendley.
<i>Ohio</i> , ...	Samuel Stoksley.
<i>Indiana</i> , ...	John R. Cravens.
<i>Illinois</i> , ...	Stephen T Logan.
<i>Michigan</i> , ...	Frank Quinn.
<i>Wisconsin</i> , ...	H. L. Rann.
<i>Iowa</i> , ...	C. F. Clarkson.
<i>Minnesota</i> , ...	John McCusick.
<i>Missouri</i> , ...	James G. Gardenhire.
<i>Kansas</i> , ...	William A. Phillips.
<i>Nebraska</i> , ...	John R. Meredeth.
<i>California</i> , ...	Charles Watrous.
<i>Oregon</i> , ...	Joel Burlingame.
<i>Texas</i> , ...	D. Henderson.
<i>District Columbia</i> , ...	James A. White.

Mr. NOBLE, of Iowa, moved that a committee, consisting of one delegate from each state and territory, represented in the Convention, be selected by the delegates thereof, to prepare the ORDER OF BUSINESS for the Convention.

The motion was carried.

On calling the roll of the states by the PRESIDENT, the following gentlemen were constituted such committee :

<i>Maine</i> , ...	John L. Stevens.
<i>New Hampshire</i> , ...	B. F. Martin.
<i>Vermont</i> , ...	Edward D. Mason.
<i>Massachusetts</i> , ...	Samuel Hooper.
<i>Connecticut</i> , ...	George H. Noble.
<i>Rhode Island</i> , ...	Nath. B. Durfee.
<i>New York</i> , ...	A. B. James.
<i>New Jersey</i> , ...	H. N. Congar.
<i>Pennsylvania</i> , ...	William D. Kelly.
<i>Delaware</i> , ...	John C. Clarke.
<i>Maryland</i> , ...	William P. Ewing.
<i>Virginia</i> , ...	John G. Jenks.
<i>Ohio</i> , ...	R. M. Corwine.
<i>Kentucky</i> , ...	Louis M. Dembitz.
<i>Indiana</i> , ...	Walter March.
<i>Michigan</i> , ...	Austin Blair.
<i>Illinois</i> , ...	Thomas A. Marshall.
<i>Wisconsin</i> , ...	Elisha Morrow.
<i>Minnesota</i> , ...	S. P. Jones.
<i>Iowa</i> , ...	Reuben Noble.
<i>Missouri</i> , ...	Thomas G. Fletcher.
<i>California</i> , ...	J. C. Hinckley.
<i>Oregon</i> , ...	Eli Thayer.
<i>Kansas</i> , ...	A. G. Proctor.
<i>Nebraska</i> , ...	Samuel H. Elbert.
<i>District Columbia</i> , ...	Joseph Gerhard.
<i>Texas</i> , ...	G. Moyers

A delegate from Pennsylvania moved that the rules of the House of Representatives be adopted for the government of the Convention until otherwise ordered.

The motion was carried.

Hon. EPHRAIM MARSH, of New Jersey, moved that the Secretary call the names of the respective States in the order in which they are called in the Congress of the United States, and that as they were called the delegates from each State present their credentials.

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio: I supposed that we had just constituted a Committee on Credentials, and my purpose for voting for that committee was to get rid of all the labor of doing their work. Now it is proposed to take the labor out of their hands and do it here in the Convention. Having voted it once to be done by the committee I do not want it brought back here, and I shall vote against any such proceeding. I move to lay the motion on the table.

Mr. MARSH: I withdraw the resolution.

Mr. GREELEY, of Oregon: I would like to move a substitute to that resolution. In place of it I move that the roll of the States be now called over, and as each is called the chairman of that delegation present the credentials of that delegation, and if any question arises as to the credentials, or right of any to sit here, let it be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. CARTER: I move an amendment. I move to amend the proposition of the gentleman from Oregon, or New York, (Mr. Greeley,) I am not sure which [Laughter], that instead of each delegation presenting their credentials here, they present them to the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. GREELEY: I accept the amendment of the gentleman from Maryland, or Rhode Island, I am not particular which. [Laughter and applause.]

The motion of Mr. Greeley was then carried.

Mr. CARTER inquired if the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. Greeley) adopted his amendment.

Mr. GREELEY replied that he had.

A gentleman from Pennsylvania inquired who the chairman of the Committee on Credentials was.

THE PRESIDENT stated that the committee would be announced soon.

Mr. GREELEY: Now I trust that the Convention sees the propriety of the course I suggested, of producing the credentials at once, here, and referring disputed questions to the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. EVARTS, of New York: Upon this Committee of Credentials each state and territory has a member; why should not, then, each state and territory commit its credentials to its member of that committee, to be presented to it?

[VOICES: That's the way.]

Mr. EVARTS: I move accordingly, that the credentials of each delegation be handed to its member of the Committee on Credentials, to be presented to that body.

A DELEGATE OF OHIO: A resolution has already passed requiring that the credentials be committed to the chairman of the Committee on Credentials, and I rose to suggest that what is done by an agent is done by the party, and without this motion at all they can pass them through their committee man to the chairman of the committee.

The PRESIDENT: Is the gentleman from New York satisfied that his resolution is covered by the one passed?

Mr. EVARTS: Undoubtedly, if it is understood that no call of the states is necessary.

The PRESIDENT : No call is necessary under any resolution yet passed.

The PRESIDENT announced the reception of the following invitation :

CHICAGO, May 16, 1860.

To the President of the Republican Convention :

The Board of Trade of this city hereby invite the delegates to your Convention, and other visitors to our city, to a short excursion on Lake Michigan ; the excursion to leave the dock at Bush Street bridge, near the Richmond House, at five o'clock this afternoon.

Signed, J. S. RAMSEY,
Chairman of the Committee.

Hon. AARON GOODRICH, of Minnesota : I have been requested, in behalf of the Board of Trade of this city, to elicit, so far as may be by a mere remark and not a speech, what shall be the sentiment of this Convention touching that proposition from the Board of Trade. When I cast my eye about this vast tabernacle, that has been reared by the skill, the taste and the munificence of the ladies and gentlemen of Chicago, and which has been tendered to the great Republican cause without money and without price [great applause], I apprehend that every delegate in this Convention will respond aye to the invitation. I have nothing more to say. [Great applause.]

Mr. DUDLEY, of New Jersey : I move, Sir, that there be a committee of five appointed to inform the Board of Trade that we accept the invitation for five o'clock, and that the committee be appointed by the Chair.

A DELEGATE FROM IOWA : I move you that it be embraced in that resolution that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Board of Trade for their very liberal offer.

Amendment accepted, and resolution as amended adopted.

[Three cheers for the ladies of Chicago were called for and heartily responded to.]

Mr. GREELEY: Have we provided for the Committee on Platform?

The PRESIDENT: We have not.

Mr. GREELEY: Then I move we have a call of the states for the purpose of appointing a Committee on Platform.

The PRESIDENT: Will that be in order until after the permanent organization?

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio: I move the appointment of a committee of one from each state by the respective delegations from the several states, to report resolutions and a platform, and that the committee be made up in the ordinary manner by calling the roll of the states.

The PRESIDENT: The gentleman from Oregon has already moved that.

Mr. GREELEY: I withdraw mine.

Mr. B. OYLER, of Indiana: I move to lay the motion on the table, until after the permanent organization.

Gov. REEDER, of Pennsylvania: Will the Chair inform the Convention what motion is before it?

The PRESIDENT stated the motion of Mr. Carter.

Gov. REEDER: I rise to oppose the motion. It is the business of this Convention now to perfect its organization. You have appointed a Committee on Credentials, on the Order of Business, and on Permanent Organization, and because we are not organized it seems to me improper.

A VOICE (on the opposite side of the house): Speak louder—we cannot hear you.

Gov. REEDER: All I have to say is not worth talking to those at the other end of the platform. I merely desire to say, that I think this motion, at this time, is out of place. It will be time enough to provide for a platform and resolutions when we shall have organized this Convention, and we are appointing committees now simply because we are not organized. This matter of a platform and resolutions is not a preliminary affair. It is not at all necessary to our organization, and therefore it is upon the same footing with the nomination of a candidate, and should wait until the permanent and perfect organization of the Convention before it should be entered upon.

Mr. CARTER: I made that motion with the view of putting the Convention at work; whether the resolution is passed to-day or to-morrow, it will be passed by the same body of men, and with the view to the declaration of their sentiments. It is a laborious work, and ought to be performed while the Convention is in its vigor. The Chairman cannot fail to have remarked the indisposition to labor, when within fifteen minutes after getting together, a pleasure excursion is voted here. I hope it will be a pleasant one, but I think before we take it, we had better designate those who will enter upon the performances of the sphere of labor in this Convention, and we can do it as well now as at any time.

Mr. ELI THAYER, of Oregon: I am opposed to the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania. I do not consider that the mere appointment of this committee is at all inconsistent with the preliminary business of this Convention. It is not proposed and it is not expected that this committee will report to-day. It is important, as the gentleman who preceded me has said, that this committee should have ample time to consider what shall be the platform of the Republican party in the coming campaign. This, sir, is the great burden of the work of this Convention, and I hope there will be no time lost in appoint-

ing this committee, and that they themselves will lose no time in the labor that is entrusted to their hands. I am, therefore, opposed to this amendment, which proposes delay. The states and territories are ready to name the man who shall constitute for each a member of this committee. The State of Oregon is ready now. [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. HAZARD, of Rhode Island: The gentlemen who advocated the postponement are right in theory, but it is obvious that the practical operations of this Convention would be retarded by a postponement. I hope, therefore, the motion to postpone will be withdrawn.

Gov. REEDER: The gentleman says we are right. If we are right why should we be voted down? It seems to me that when gentlemen concede that we are right, there is generally nothing remaining to do but to carry out the right. We are transgressing the right here, and for the purpose of what? For the purpose of convenience, and because it can make no difference. It may make no difference now, but the time may come, and will come, when it will make a difference, and then this action will be cited as a precedent. I am opposed to making bad precedents. I believe that the only way to pursue is to do it right and in order. If you appoint a committee, what is to prevent that committee from reporting to this Convention before you have made a permanent organization? And if they do so report, what is to prevent a majority of this Convention passing upon the resolutions and platform before you are organized? Do the gentlemen desire to see that? Do they desire to establish a precedent such as that, which may be used at some great crisis in the future for purposes of evil? It is admitted that we are right, and it seems to me that there the question ends.

Mr. CARTER: The gentleman from Pennsylvania is begging a little more than I am willing to grant. I do not feel that the first movement is right. There is no such concession in

this quarter of the hall. [Loud cries of "Question," which interrupting the speaker, he took his seat.]

The motion of Mr. Oyler, of Indiana, to lay over the motion to appoint a Committee on Platform and Resolutions until after the permanent organization of the Convention, was then put to vote and lost.

Hon. J. T. HOGEBROOM, of New York: I move to amend the motion to appoint a Committee on Platform and Resolutions, by adding, "that the committee report as soon as convenient after the permanent organization of the Convention."

Mr. CARTER: I accept the amendment.

Mr. OYLER: We have already appointed a Committee on Credentials, and for what? To know authoritatively and legally who have a right to a seat upon this floor. Now, sir, we are going on to provide for the most important thing that this Convention will do, except the designation of the man who shall bear our standard. I shall not attempt to say that there is one man on this floor not legally entitled to his seat; but we have no evidence of the fact. It is true, we have entered upon this floor, and have arranged ourselves at the different points which we designated by the names of the states, and the fair presumption is, that the men who fill these seats are honestly entitled to them; but that is no proof of the fact, and I undertake to say that this proceeding is against all precedent, and a bad precedent to be set by a Republican Convention. Why this haste? We will "work in haste and repent at leisure." What harm can be done by deferring this until after the Committee on Permanent Organization report, and the Convention organizes itself as a Republican National Convention? We are not that yet. I hope the delegates will consider — that they will stop. Let us be organized before we do, or undertake to do, the most important work we have met to accomplish.

Mr. GREELEY : If there is any question here as to the right of any delegation on this floor, I am willing that this matter should not be urged. But if there is none, then let us have this committee appointed. It will take thirty-six hours for the committee to prepare their report, and the committee should be appointed now so they can have full opportunity. If there is any question as to the right of any delegates, we will waive it.

Gov. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts : The first thing for us is to be right. We are assembled not for deliberation, but for organization. Let us organize and then deliberate ; and until we have perfected our organization, it will be a dangerous precedent to set up here, with reference to a new party that is organized for the government of this country, through a generation, to establish a precedent which, when contestants come here from the Pacific and the South, will lead to difficulties on the floor. We have time enough. Better devote it to the organization of this convention rather than to an excursion ; thankful as we are for the hospitality of the city, we have a greater duty to perform to this country. I move to lay this (Mr. Carter's) resolution on the table.

The motion of Gov. Boutwell to lay on the table was carried. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. SWEETZER, of Massachusetts : I move that when this convention adjourn, it adjourn to meet at 3 o'clock this afternoon. The reason why I move this is, that it seems to me desirable that we should sometime proceed with the business of the convention. If we are going to take up the time in excursions on the lake, I do not know when we will have time for business. I am willing to change the time, if anybody can tell us that we can return from the excursion in time for a meeting of business this evening.

Mr. BEN. EGGLESTON, of Ohio : I move to amend by making the time 10 o'clock to-morrow morning. Now, Mr.

President, I am very well satisfied that the motion just voted down, in reference to the resolution, will make the convention one day longer, and we delegates from Ohio, some of us, are running out of funds. [Laughter.] It will take a day or two longer. It takes an hour and a half to seat the delegates, and to seat outsiders from two to four hours. [Laughter.] I want it understood that I came here to work, and am not going on the lake; nor is any delegate who came here to work. But I am willing to amend my motion by making it 5 o'clock if desired.

Hon. A. B. JAMES, of New York: If we had appointed the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, then we could have with safety adjourned until to-morrow morning; but we have voted that down. We want to make a permanent organization in order that the committee may be appointed, so that it may have the resolutions ready to present to us to-morrow morning.

Mr. JUDD, of Illinios: It seems to me, sir, if you undertake to assemble this Convention at three o'clock, the business for which the Committee on Credentials and the Committee on Permanent Organization have been appointed will not be accomplished.

A DELEGATE from Minnesota: Make it four, five or six.

Mr. JUDD: My reason for making the suggestion is, I believe every man here wants his dinner, and they are scattered over the entire city of Chicago, and if they are hungry, as I think they are, before they can get their dinners and meet at the committee room the time will have expired, and the duties will not be performed by the committees unless some gentleman has in his pocket a programme to be followed without consulting anybody in regard to what is to be done by the committee. I say, sir, you must give them time if you expect them to act understandingly; and there is no time now,

between two and three o'clock, to accomplish the purposes for which these committees have been appointed.

Mr. GOODRICH, of Minnesota: I would ask the gentleman to name the hour of seven this evening.

Mr. JUDD: I accept the amendment.

Hon. W. D. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania: This hall is engaged for to-night, as I observe by a notice in the city papers this morning, for an exhibition of the Zouave drill.

Mr. JUDD: I beg leave to say that this hall is under the control of this Convention whenever they want it, day or night. [Applause.]

Mr. EGGLESTON: I accept the amendment to meet at 7 o'clock this evening.

Mr. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania: There is a large portion of this Convention who cannot be got out to a night session. The number is too large to get together for a deliberative Convention at night. I am opposed to a night session, and I hope the proposition for it will be voted down. I am in favor of 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Mr. JAMES, of New York: If any gentleman who voted for the resolution that was last passed against appointing a Committee on Resolutions will move to reconsider that vote, there will be no difficulty in making an adjournment until to-morrow morning, unless the motion to reconsider is voted down. We will lose less time by this course. I cannot make the motion as I voted against laying on the table.

A DELEGATE: I move to take the resolution from the table.

The PRESIDENT: I understand the motion to be to reconsider the vote by which the resolution to appoint a Committee on Platform was laid upon the table.

A DELEGATE FROM MICHIGAN : I rise to make that motion. I move that the motion to lay on the table be reconsidered, and the appointment of the Committee on Resolutions be now taken from the table.

Mr. OYLER, from Indiana—[Amid cries of “Question!” “Question!”]: I rise to a point of order. The point I make is this: Is a motion to reconsider the last resolution passed while there is a motion pending for our adjournment that has not been withdrawn.

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio : I rise to make an inquiry, if it is in order, whether it is in order to reconsider the vote of this Convention when there is a Lake Excursion pending. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDENT : It is the opinion of the Chair that the motion to reconsider is not in order, for this reason : That there was pending before this Convention at the time a resolution to adjourn until 7 o'clock this evening, and to that there was an amendment that the hour be fixed at 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

A VOICE : That motion is now withdrawn.

The CHAIR : Then the other is in order.

A DELEGATE : I renew the motion.

The CHAIR : The question is, shall the vote to lay on the table be reconsidered.

Mr. PRESTON KING, of New York : I am satisfied that one of the difficulties in the progress of our business is this excursion on the lake ; a very pleasant one, and for which I feel, and I have no doubt the entire Convention feels indebted to the hospitality and generosity of the citizens of Chicago. But our object here is business, and not pleasure. I trust, therefore, that we may make an adjournment which will con-

form to the convenience of all. If we have old gentlemen here, or others, who, from any cause, do not desire to have an evening session, let us adjourn to meet again at 5 o'clock, and we can, between that time and dark, perform the acts necessary to a complete organization, and thus save at least a day's time of the Convention. If we adjourn until to-morrow we lose certainly an entire day. There is no doubt of that. This Committee on Platform and Resolutions ought to have this evening to sit; and while I did not regard it as material whether that committee was appointed before or after organization, I am willing to concede that it is more regular and more in accordance with the parliamentary usage that we should take the course that was suggested here. Let us now act with a spirit of conciliation and unanimity if we can. I think if we adjourn to 5 o'clock we may get together and then organize and appoint our committees and be prepared to-morrow morning to go to work. That will make it, of course, impossible or inconvenient to go on this excursion, but that we must defer. I move we adjourn to 5 o'clock.

Mr. W. E. COALE, of Maryland: I hope members of this Convention will not stultify themselves by first accepting the invitation so kindly tendered to us and then immediately declining it.

Mr. KING: I am going to move that the proposition in relation to this excursion be referred to our Business Committee, between whom and the Board of Trade an arrangement can be made convenient for both sides.

The PRESIDENT: The gentleman from New York will please understand there is still pending a motion to take from the table the resolution heretofore laid upon the table.

Mr. KING: If that is insisted upon we must take the voice of the Convention upon it. My object in making this motion was to see if we could not come to some understanding or reach some conclusion with unanimity. [Cries of "Question," "Question."]

The PRESIDENT: The question is, shall the resolution laid upon the table respecting the platform be now taken from the table?

Gov. REEDER: Does it not require a two-third vote under the rules of the House of Representatives to do that?

The PRESIDENT: I think not.

Mr. SWEETZER, of Massachusetts: I moved to adjourn until 5 o'clock; somebody else moved to amend, and adjourn until 9 or 10 o'clock to-morrow morning. My original motion has never been withdrawn.

The CHAIR: I understood it to have been.

Mr. SWEETZER: The gentleman withdrew his motion. I still ask to have my motion put.

The CHAIR: The question is, shall this Convention when it adjourns, adjourn to meet at 5 o'clock this afternoon; and the amendment is to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Gov. CLEVELAND, of Connecticut: I am sure, gentlemen, that you are all disposed to act as you look, as gentlemen. I desire to say to you that we have a very polite and gentlemanly communication from the Board of Trade, and we have by a vote, accepted it. Now, I agree with my friend from New York [Mr. King] that we had better not do it, but to get out of it and treat them fairly, we have only to make a motion to reconsider, and then we can dispose of it in such a manner as the Convention shall see fit, and in such a manner as is consistent with the gentlemanly character of those who made the invitation. In passing a motion to accept it, and then voting to adjourn till 5 o'clock, we seem to throw contempt upon their very civil invitation. If the gentleman will withdraw his motion for the purpose of making a motion to reconsider, I will make that motion, and then we can get out of the trouble.

Mr. SWEETZER: I withdraw the motion only for that purpose.

The PRESIDENT: The difficulty is here: If you withdraw your motion touching the hour of adjournment then comes before the Convention, as I understand it, the motion to take from the table the resolution concerning the platform. The motion before the Convention is that we adjourn, when we do adjourn, until to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

Motion to adjourn was put and lost. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT: Now the proposition before the Convention is that when this Convention adjourns, it adjourns to meet at 5 o'clock this afternoon.

Hon. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, of Ohio, appeared on the platform amid loud cheers. He said: I rise for the purpose of moving a reconsideration of the vote accepting the invitation received from the Board of Trade to meet there at 5 o'clock for a pleasure excursion. I do this, sir, from a sincere conviction that every gentleman who has come here, has come impressed with the solemnity of the business before us. Knowing that we are here to perform high and solemn duties to our country and ourselves, and in justice to our own position and the cause in which we are employed, we should be zealously engaged in the business before us; and here I will take leave to say we have had a precedent recently set before us, far south of this, which should caution us about spending our time here to the wearying of the public mind in witnessing our discussions. If we can close up our business to-morrow by two or three o'clock, it will tell upon the community with a moral force that is incalculable. [Loud and prolonged applause.] Now, Mr. Chairman, I will labor from this time until three o'clock to-morrow in order to attain the object of a final adjournment at that time. [Renewed cheering.] Then, sir, I am willing to accept the kind invitation of the Board of Trade here, and enjoy the pleasure of going upon the proposed excursion.

For the purpose of reconsidering this vote, and then referring it to a committee that they shall make the arrangements with the Board of Trade, so that at our adjournment we will meet them and accept cordially the invitation and take this excursion, I now move that we reconsider the vote by which that motion was carried, accepting the pleasure excursion.

The motion of Mr. Giddings to reconsider was then put to vote and carried.

Mr. LOWRY, of Pennsylvania: I move you, sir, that a committee of one from each State be appointed by the Chair to confer with the Board of Trade.

VOICES: Make it a committee of five.

Mr. LOWRY: I will modify my resolution and make it a committee of five.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Massachusetts: We have already a committee of five appointed upon the order of business, and I suggest that this matter of the invitation of the Board of Trade, of Chicago, can be referred to it. I will make the motion that that reference be had.

A delegate from Vermont: I hope that the committee will at once notify the Board of Trade, as they are already making their preparations for the excursion.

Motion of Mr. Lowry to appoint a committee of five to confer was adopted.

The CHAIR then appointed the following gentlemen to act as such committee :

Morrow B. Lowry,.....	<i>Of Pennsylvania.</i>
Aaron Goodrich, ...	<i>Of Minnesota.</i>
Joshua R. Giddings,.....	<i>Of Ohio.</i>
F. P. Blair,.....	<i>Of Maryland.</i>
C. F. Cleveland,.....	<i>Of Connecticut.</i>

The Convention then, on motion, adjourned until 5 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at 5:15, P. M., by the temporary President.

THE INVITATION.

Mr. LOWRY, of Pennsylvania: In behalf of the committee appointed to confer with the Board of Trade, I would ask leave to make a report. The committee have called upon our friends, the Board of Trade, who invited us to the excursion. They extended to us an invitation and we accepted it. They left immediately and prepared themselves to carry out the arrangement that they had proposed for our enjoyment. They have a perfect fleet down there now in readiness. Before I could get there—before I could find the committee and the parties who have invited us, they had their fleet ready to carry us and large enough to carry us all. They say that if we are so pressed with business we can hold the Convention on the decks of their vessels, if we desire it—and we can, so they say, have their cabins for rooms to caucus in. They are very much disposed to press us and will wait one hour, that will make it six o'clock. We can have ample time to do here this afternoon all that is necessary and then go on the excursion. Now, inasmuch as the people of Chicago extend to us this invitation, I hope it will be unanimously accepted for 6 o'clock.

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio: I rise to a question of order. There is one question already before the house.

Mr. GOODRICH, of Minnesota: Say "as soon thereafter as possible." We may, perhaps, have to wait fifteen or twenty minutes thereafter. I hope that we shall go on and perfect our organization, and I believe that can be done within the

time named. I hope the Convention will get ready at once to take the excursion.

Mr. HAZARD, of Rhode Island: The proposition now made as I understand it, differs only from that of the morning in this: it is now said that it will not interfere with the progress of the meeting—that we may go on and complete our business just as well as not, and take this excursion. [Cries of “Never mind,” and much confusion.] But it does not meet the case. I suppose that we are here on important business. We are here, believing as was said this morning [much confusion], believing that the government is pressed on both sides, one half of the Democratic party threatening us with annihilation—and the other [amid loud cries of “Question,” the remainder of the sentence was lost.] Suppose you were standing by the sick bed. [Cries of “Question,” and great confusion, amid which the speaker took his seat.]

The question to adjourn to 6 o'clock being submitted, was lost amid much applause.

The PRESIDENT announced that the reports of the committees were in order, and asked for the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. [Cries of “Good.”]

Mr. HINCKLEY, of California: I ask if it is not in accordance with usage that the Committee on Credentials be called, so that we may know who are members of the Convention.

The PRESIDENT: I do not know that there is any special order in which committees should report.

Mr. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania: I move that the report of the Committee on Credentials be called, so that we may know who are members of the Convention.

The motion of Mr. Kelley was carried.

Mr. COMINS, of Massachusetts stated, that the Committee

on Permanent Organization had agreed upon a report, and that its Chairman would be present very soon to present the report to the Convention.

The PRESIDENT called for the report of the Committee on Credentials, if the Chairman was present.

Judge TRACY, of California: I understand that the Committee on the Order of Business are ready to report in part; and inasmuch as no other committee seems to be ready to report, I propose that the Chair call for the report of that committee.

The PRESIDENT: I think that if the Committee on Permanent Organization is ready to report, it would be best to receive that.

Judge TRACY: Certainly, if they are in a state of crystallization. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDENT: I understand that they are ready. Mr. Horton, of the Committee on Permanent Organization, makes a report in part that they have agreed upon Mr. Ashmun, of Massachusetts.

A VOICE: George?

The PRESIDENT: Hon. George Ashmun [a voice, "Good boy"—Laughter], of Massachusetts, for President of the Convention. [Prolonged cheers.]

The report in reference to the selection of Permanent President was unanimously adopted.

A VOICE: Nary a "no." [Laughter.]

The Temporary President appointed Hon. Preston King, of New York, and Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin, to wait upon and conduct the President to the chair. The appearance of Mr. Schurz was the signal for loud cheers.

The President was conducted to the chair amid enthusi-

astic applause. When this had subsided he addressed the Convention.

SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE ASHMUN.

Gentlemen of the Convention—Republicans, Americans: My first duty is to express to you the deep sense which I feel of this distinguished mark of your confidence. In the spirit in which it has been offered I accept it, sensible of the difficulties which surround the position, but cheered and sustained by the faith that the same generosity that has brought me here will carry me through the discharge of the duties. I will not shrink from this position, at the same time the post of danger as well as the post of honor. [Applause.] Gentlemen, we have come here to-day at the call of our countrymen from widely separated homes, to fulfill a great and important duty. No ordinary call has brought us together. Nothing but a momentous question would have called this vast multitude here to-day—nothing but a deep sense of the danger into which our government is fast running could have rallied the people thus in this city to-day, for the purpose of rescuing the government from the deep degradation into which it has fallen. [Loud applause.] We have come here at the call of our country, for the purpose of preparing for the most solemn duty that freemen have to perform. We are here in the ordinary capacity as delegates of the people, to prepare for the formation and carrying on of a new administration, and with the help of the people we will do it. [Applause.] No mere controversy about miserable abstractions has brought us here to-day; we have not come here on any idle question. The sacrifice which most of us have made in the extended journey, and in the time devoted to it, could only have been made upon some solemn call; and the stern look which I see, the solemn look which I see on every face, and the earnest behavior which has been manifested in all the preliminary discussions, shows full well that we all have a true and deep sense of the solemn obligation which is resting upon us. Gentlemen, it does not belong to

me to make an extended address; it is for me rather to assist in the details of the business that belong to the Convention. But allow me to say that I think we have a right here to-day, in the name of the American people, to say that we impeach the administration of our General Government of the highest crimes which can be committed against a constitutional government, against a free people, against humanity. [Prolonged cheers.] The catalogue of its crimes it is not for me to recite. It is written upon every page of the history of the present administration, and I care not how many paper protests the President may send into the House of Representatives [Laughter and applause], we, here, the grand inquest of the nation, will find out for him and his confederates, not merely punishment terrible and sure, but a remedy which shall be satisfactory. [Prolonged cheers.] Gentlemen, before proceeding to the business of the Convention, allow me to congratulate you and the people upon the striking feature which, I think, must have been noticed by everybody who has mixed in the preliminary discussions of the people who have gathered in this beautiful city. It is that brotherly kindness, and cordial and generous emulation, which has marked every conversation and every discussion, showing a desire for nothing else but their country's good. Earnest, warm and generous preferences are expressed, ardent hopes and fond purposes are declared, but not within the three days I have spent among you all, have I heard one unkind word, uttered by one man towards another. I hail it as an augury of success, and if, during the proceedings of this Convention, you will unite to perpetuate that feeling, and allow it to pervade all your proceedings, I declare to you, that I think it is the surest and brightest promise of our success, whoever may be the standard bearer in the contest that is pending. [Applause.] In that spirit, gentlemen, let us now proceed to the business—to the great work, which the American people have given into our hands to do. [Applause.]

THE OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION.

Mr. MARSH, of New Jersey: The Committee on Permanent Organization having reported in part, desires to complete its report.

The committee appointed to recommend officers for the permanent organization of this Convention, have attended to that duty, and report that the officers shall consist of a President, twenty-seven Vice-Presidents and twenty-six Secretaries; and the following gentlemen are recommended to fill the offices respectively named:

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

<i>Maine</i> , ...	Samuel F. Hersey
<i>New Hampshire</i> , ...	William Haile.
<i>Vermont</i> , ...	William Hebord.
<i>Massachusetts</i> , ...	Ensign H. Kellogg.
<i>Rhode Island</i> , ...	Rowland G. Hazard.
<i>Connecticut</i> , ...	Chauncey F. Cleveland.
<i>New York</i> , ...	William Curtis Noyes.
<i>New Jersey</i> , ...	Edward Y. Rogers.
<i>Pennsylvania</i> , ...	Thaddeus Stevens.
<i>Delaware</i> , ...	John C. Clark.
<i>Maryland</i> , ...	William L. Marshall.
<i>Virginia</i> , ...	Richard Crawford.
<i>Ohio</i> , ...	George D. Burgess.
<i>Indiana</i> , ...	John Beard.
<i>Illinois</i> , ...	David Davis.
<i>Michigan</i> , ...	Thomas W. Ferry.
<i>Wisconsin</i> , ...	Hans Crocker.
<i>Iowa</i> , ...	H. P. Scholte.
<i>Minnesota</i> , ...	Aaron Goodrich.
<i>Missouri</i> , ...	Henry T. Blow.
<i>Kentucky</i> , ...	William D. Gallagher.
<i>Texas</i> , ...	William T. Chandler.
<i>California</i> , ...	A. A. Sargent.
<i>Oregon</i> , ...	Joel Burlingame.
<i>District of Columbia</i> , ...	George Harrington.
<i>Kansas</i> , ...	William W. Ross.
<i>Nebraska</i> , ...	A. S. Paddock.

SECRETARIES.

<i>Maine</i> , ...	Charles A. Wing.
<i>New Hampshire</i> , ...	Nathaniel Hubbard.
<i>Vermont</i> , ...	John W. Stewart.
<i>Massachusetts</i> , ...	Charles O. Rogers.
<i>Rhode Island</i> , ...	Rowland R. Hazard.
<i>Connecticut</i> , ...	H. H. Starkweather.
<i>New York</i> , ...	George William Curtis.
<i>New Jersey</i> , ...	Edward Brettle.
<i>Pennsylvania</i> , ...	J. Bowman Bell.
<i>Delaware</i> , ...	Benjamin C. Hopkins.
<i>Maryland</i> , ...	William E. Coale.
<i>Virginia</i> , ...	A. W. Campbell.
<i>Ohio</i> , ...	H. G. Beebe.
<i>Indiana</i> , ...	D. D. Pratt.
<i>Illinois</i> , ...	O. L. Davis.
<i>Michigan</i> , ...	William S. Stoughton.
<i>Wisconsin</i> , ...	L. F. Frisbie.
<i>Iowa</i> , ...	Wm. B. Allison.
<i>Minnesota</i> , ...	D. A. Secombe.
<i>Missouri</i> , ...	J. K. Kidd.
<i>Kentucky</i> , ...	Stephen J. Hawes.
<i>Texas</i> , ...	Dunbar Henderson.
<i>California</i> , ...	D. J. Staples.
<i>Oregon</i> , ...	Eli Thayer.
<i>Kansas</i> , ...	John A. Martin.
<i>Nebraska</i> , ...	H. P. Hitchcock.

On motion of Mr. STONE, of Iowa, the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization was adopted.

Hon. F. P. TRACY, of California, moved that a committee, consisting of one delegate from each state and territory represented in the Convention, be selected by the delegates thereof, to report resolutions and platform.

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio, moved to amend, by requiring that

all resolutions submitted to the Convention be referred to the proposed committee without debate.

Judge TRACY accepted the amendment.

Mr. JUDD, of Illinois: I ask the gentleman to suspend for one moment while I make a presentation to the President of the Convention. I am directed, Mr. President, on behalf of one of the working mechanic Republicans of Chicago, to present to you, sir, this emblem of your authority. [Exhibiting a beautifully wrought oak gavel, finished and ornamented with ivory and silver.] It is not, sir, the wood and the ivory and the silver—

Mr. HINCKLEY, of California: [Interrupting.] I rise to a point of order. ["Sit down;" "Go on with the presentation," and great confusion.] The Committee on Order of Business has not yet reported; when that committee reports perhaps the Convention will find the adoption or rejection of that report will settle the controversy in reference to the appointment of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

The CHAIR: The chair holds that that is not a point of order. [Applause.] It may be a ground for the rejection of the proposition of the gentleman from California (Judge Tracy).

Mr. JUDD: I would not, sir, have attempted to have made this presentation, if I had not supposed that I had the unanimous consent at this time of the Convention. [Applause and cries of "Go on," "Go on."] I was saying to you, sir, that it was not the wood or the ivory, or the silver, of which that little instrument is composed, that renders it valuable. It has, like the Republican party, a history. It is a piece of oak taken from Commodore Perry's flag ship—the Lawrence. [Applause.] It is not from its size that its power is to be felt. It is like the Republican rule, strong but not noisy. [Great enthusiasm.] It is not, that the Republicans require

a noisy and violent government, or that they require riotously to put down the sham Democracy; but they require and intend to apply to them, and to all those persons who seek disunion, and keep up a cry about destroying our government, the little force necessary to control and restrain them, like the little force which will be necessary for you, Mr. President, to use in presiding over the deliberations of this Convention. [Great cheers.] There is a motto, too, adopted by that mechanic, which should be a motto for every Republican in this Convention—the motto borne upon the flag of the Lawrence—"Don't give up the ship." [Great applause.] Mr. President, in presenting this to you, in addition to the motto furnished by the mechanic who manufactured this, as an evidence of his warmth and zeal in the Republican cause, I would recommend to this Convention to believe that the person who will be nominated here, can, when the election is over in November, send a dispatch to Washington in the language of the gallant Perry: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours." [Terrific cheering.] Voices, "Name, name." Mr. President, in the beginning I should have named Mr. C. G. Thomas, of Chicago. [Hearty applause.]

The PRESIDENT: In behalf of the Convention, I accept from the hands of the gentleman from Illinois the present made by the Chicago mechanic; and I have only to say to-day that all the auguries are that we shall meet the enemy and they shall be ours. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. DEMBITZ, of Kentucky, announced that the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, had matured a partial report, defining the manner in which votes should be taken in the Convention. He moved that that report be now taken up.

The PRESIDENT announced that the question on the appointment of a Committee on Resolutions and Platform was pending.

Mr. DEMBITZ moved that the question on the appointment

of a Committee on Platform and Resolutions be postponed until the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business had been received.

The motion of Mr. Dembitz was lost.

The PRESIDENT: The question is now on the appointment of a Committee on Resolutions and Platform, to whom to refer, without debate, all resolutions or propositions.

Gov. REEDER: Mr. President—

VOICES: "Name."

The PRESIDENT: Gov. Reeder, of Pennsylvania. [Prolonged cheers.]

Gov. REEDER: I understand the resolution before the Convention to be that a committee of one from each state be appointed for the purpose of drafting a Platform and Resolutions. Am I right?

The PRESIDENT: You are, substantially.

Gov. REEDER: Then I move to amend so that it may include the territories.

Judge TRACY: That is the language of the motion.

The motion to appoint a Committee on Platform and Resolutions was then carried.

The PRESIDENT suggested to the Convention the propriety of having a roll of the Convention, arranged under the heads of the different states, made out by the Secretaries, and to be printed for the use of the Convention. He then proposed to call the states for the appointment of a Committee on Resolutions and Platform.

Mr. JAMES, of New York: Before that is put, I would suggest that the Committee on Credentials report. We refused to adopt this very resolution before dinner.

The CHAIR: The Chair is about to call the roll of the states, for the purpose of receiving the names of gentlemen to constitute a Committee on Resolutions.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS, &c.

The roll was then called, and the committee constituted as follows:

<i>Maine</i> , ...	George F. Talbott.
<i>New Hampshire</i> , ...	Amos Tuck.
<i>Vermont</i> , ...	Ebenezer Briggs.
<i>Massachusetts</i> , ...	George S. Boutwell.
<i>Rhode Island</i> , ...	Benjamin T. Eames.
<i>Connecticut</i> , ...	S. W. Kellogg.
<i>New York</i> , ...	H. R. Selden.
<i>New Jersey</i> , ...	Thomas H. Dudley.
<i>Pennsylvania</i> , ...	William Jessup.
<i>Delaware</i> , ...	N. B. Smithers.
<i>Maryland</i> , ...	F. P. Blair.
<i>Virginia</i> , ...	Alfred Caldwell.
<i>Ohio</i> , ...	Joseph H. Barrett.
<i>Kentucky</i> , ...	George D. Blakey.
<i>Indiana</i> , ...	William T. Otto.
<i>Michigan</i> , ...	Austin Blair.
<i>Illinois</i> , ...	Gustavus Kærner.
<i>Wisconsin</i> , ...	Carl Schurz.
<i>Minnesota</i> , ...	Stephen Miller.
<i>Iowa</i> , ...	J. A. Kasson.
<i>Missouri</i> , ...	Charles L. Bernays.
<i>California</i> , ...	F. P. Tracy.
<i>Oregon</i> , ...	Horace Greeley.
<i>Texas</i> , ...	H. A. Shaw.
<i>District of Columbia</i> , ...	G. A. Hall.
<i>Nebraska</i> , ...	A. Sidney Paddock.
<i>Kansas</i> , ...	John P. Hatterscheidt.

Mr. R. H. CORWINE, of Ohio: The Committee on Business have a report prepared, but it will be necessary for them to

modify their report in consequence of the action of the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. HOPKINS, of Massachusetts : In response to the suggestion from the Chair, I move you that the Secretaries of this Convention be directed to prepare a full list of the delegates to this Convention.

A DELEGATE FROM MISSOURI : I would move, as an amendment, that it contain their post office addresses.

The CHAIR : That, I suppose, will be attended to. It will be done under the direction of the Secretaries.

Motion to print adopted.

The PRESIDENT then announced the reception of the following communication, which was read to the Convention :

ARMORY OF THE ZOUAVE CADET GUARD, }
May 16, 1860.

TO THE HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
CONVENTION.

Gentlemen : In compliance with the wishes of the citizens, we are, through the courtesy of the Committee, permitted to occupy the "Wigwam" this evening for an exhibition drill, to which we beg to return an invitation to the members of your honorable body. We shall feel highly honored by the presence of all who can find leisure to attend. Tickets of admission will be found at the head-quarters of the different delegations.

I have the honor to be,

Your obed't servant,

E. E. ELLSWORTH,

Commander U. S. Zouave Cadets.

On motion, the invitation to be present was accepted with thanks.

Mr. KAUFMANN, of Pennsylvania : I would suggest to the

Committee on Platform, before they present to the Convention their report, that they have a large number printed and distributed to all members, so that they can see it. It will be impossible to have it read here so that we can understand it clearly, and members will not know if they are in favor of it or against it. I will make a motion to that effect.

The motion was carried.

Mr. VOORHIES, of Indiana: I move that when this Convention adjourns, it do adjourn until to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

MANY VOICES—"Make it ten."

The CHAIR: It is moved to amend by substituting 10.

Mr. TRACY, of California: Nine o'clock is too early. I have come a long way, many thousand miles, to attend this Convention, and am tired, and I can't get up so early.

Mr. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania: There are several committees who have business to attend to; one of which I know meets at eight, and another at half past eight, and it will be impossible for them to get through their business by nine o'clock. In endeavoring to save an hour, I think the Convention will waste much more time. I think that it would be more judicious to meet at 10 o'clock, when the committees can come in with their reports.

The motion to fix 10 o'clock as the hour for re-assembling prevailed.

Mr. ROLLINS, of New Hampshire, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the delegations from each state and territory, represented in this Convention, be requested to designate and report the name of one individual to serve as a member of the National Republican Committee, for the ensuing four years.

Mr. NOURSE, of Iowa, moved to amend the resolution so that the delegations should be left to select members of the National Committee who were not members of the Convention.

The amendment was accepted, and the resolution adopted.

The Convention then, on motion, adjourned to Thursday morning, at 10 o'clock.

SECOND DAY.

The Convention re-assembled at 10 o'clock, pursuant to adjournment. After some time spent in securing to delegates the possession of their seats on the platform, many of which had been taken by persons not delegates, Rev. W. W. PATTEN, Pastor of the Second Congregational Church, of Chicago, offered the following prayer :

Great God! Thou art the blessed and the only potentate, King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Thou only hast immortality. Thou dwellest in light that no man can approach unto Thee, whom no man hath seen nor mortal vision can see. We are Thy weak and Thine erring creatures, and we draw nigh unto Thee in all our dependence, that we may avail ourselves of Thine almighty strength and boundless wisdom. We thank Thee that Thou hast given us the great boon of existence; that Thou hast created us in Thine own image; that Thou hast sent us into this world to work out our destiny and to do Thy will; privileging us with the opportunity of being co-workers with Thee in Thy benevolent and wise plans. We thank Thee that we had our birth and residence in this land; and that we have come into the world to act our part in these latter days of its history. We pray Thee to qualify us to act that part aright, as men should act who live in this nineteenth

century. And we pray Thee, oh God, that Thy blessing may rest upon our country. We thank Thee that our fathers who came over here, and laid the foundations of our country in prayer and in faith, desiring here to serve God and benefit their fellow men. And we pray Thee that that same spirit may dwell in their children; and may lead them to bring forth the fruits of righteousness. Help this great people to remember that it is righteousness that exalteth a nation, while sin is a shame unto any people. We thank Thee that Thou hast permitted us to witness this great convocation of the friends of freedom and humanity. We pray for Thy blessing to rest upon all in this Convention who have come hither to represent the friends of freedom in this nation. We beseech of Thee that Thou wilt give them the wisdom which is from above, which begins in the fear of God. Grant that they may be saved from the fear of man, which Thy word declares bringeth a snare; and we pray Thee that they may be enabled to act in manner worthy of the responsibility which has been committed to them. Grant that in their deliberations they may be aided by the spirit, and may be brought to such conclusions as shall be for the furtherance of the cause of liberty and of humanity in this great nation, so that they shall not only acquit themselves to the commendation of their fellow men, but shall be prepared to meet God, and that slave, whose friend God is, at the great day of account. And these mercies we ask in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen!

The PRESIDENT announced the reception of the following communication, which was read to the Convention:

CHICAGO, *May* 17, 1860.

Hon. GEORGE ASHMUN, President of the Republican Convention, Chicago.

Dear Sir: The members of the Convention are invited to an excursion over the Chicago and Rock Island railroad, to the City of Rock Island, crossing the Mississippi river bridge to the City of Davenport, Iowa, any day during their stay in Chicago which the Convention may designate. The hour of

leaving Chicago and returning subject to the wishes of the Convention.

I am respectfully yours,

HENRY FARNUM, *President*.

On motion the communication was laid on the table, to be taken up and considered at a later stage of the proceedings.

The CHAIR announced the reception of the following communication, which he read to the Convention :

To the Honorable PRESIDENT of the Republican National Convention.

Sir : Can you arrange to send out some effective speakers, to entertain 20,000 Republicans and their wives, outside the building? [Great applause, and cries for "Corwin," and others.]

The PRESIDENT announced that the first business in order would be to hear the report of the Committee on the Order of Business.

Mr. R. H. CORWINE, of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Rules and the Order of Business, reported the following rules, which were read to the Convention :

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the Convention, the states and territories shall be called in the following order :

Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan, Illinois, Texas, Wisconsin, Iowa, California, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas, Nebraska, District of Columbia.

Rule 2. Four votes shall be cast by the delegates at large of each state, and each Congressional district shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be acted upon before the Convention proceeds

to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President.
[Applause.]

Rule 4. Three hundred and four votes, being a majority of the whole number of votes when all the states of the Union are represented in this Convention, according to the rates of representation presented in Rule 2, shall be required to nominate the candidates of this Convention for the offices of President and Vice-President. [Applause and cries of "No! no!"]

Rule 5. The rules of the House of Representatives shall continue to be the rules of this Convention, in so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Mr. JAMES, of New York: Before we proceed to act on those rules, I wish to say, that when this committee met there were but seventeen out of twenty-three members present. That the Fourth Rule, which has been adopted, was only adopted by one majority, and as a member of that committee I propose to offer a substitute, which I will now read, as follows:

The PRESIDENT: Will the gentleman waive it until the Fourth Rule comes before the meeting?

Mr. JAMES: I suppose the amendment should be submitted before we enter upon the duty of considering the report.

The PRESIDENT: It will be much more convenient for the gentleman to present his amendment when it comes up.

Mr. JAMES: It is a minority report.

The PRESIDENT: Then it is in order.

Mr. JAMES: The minority of the Committee on Business and Rules, propose the following amendment to the Fourth Rule, as a minority report:

4. That a majority of the whole number of votes repre-

sented in this Convention, according to the votes prescribed by the Second Rule, shall be required to nominate a candidate for President and Vice-President. [Applause, and cries of "No! No!"]

The PRESIDENT: The first question is upon the first rule.

Mr. REEDER, of Pennsylvania: I desire to ask this House a question.

The PRESIDENT: Mr. Carter, of Ohio, has the floor.

Mr. REEDER: I beg the gentleman's pardon; I had not seen him.

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio: We are approaching a labor that is going to involve our constituencies in this Convention, and there is no report from the Committee on Credentials. [Voices: "We can't hear you."] Before entering upon the consideration of this report, which I perceive is to be litigated, I propose to go into the battle with the army organized. [Voices: "That's correct," "Good," and so on.] Therefore, I move the postponement of the consideration of the report of the Committee on the Order of Business, until we have a report from the Committee on Credentials. .

Mr. REEDER: That is precisely the suggestion I was going to make.

Mr. CARTER: I knew you were thinking just about right.

The motion of Mr. Carter, to postpone the consideration of the report of the Committee on the Order of Business, was carried.

Mr. BENTON, of New Hampshire, and the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, ask leave to submit the following report:

The Committee on Credentials report herewith the names and number of delegates from the several states as being elected, and deem it proper to say that the States of Pennsyl-

vania and New Jersey have appointed four delegates from each Congressional District, and eight Senatorial delegates, instead of appointing delegates and alternates; and Iowa has appointed eight delegates from each Congressional District, and sixteen Senatorial delegates. [Laughter.] The Committee also present the names of the delegates present and duly elected from the District of Columbia and the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, leaving it for the Convention to decide whether they shall be permitted to vote in this Convention.

All of which is respectfully presented in behalf of the Committee.

Mr. BENTON: The states and territories are specified, and I can read them if the Convention desire it, although the chairman did not deem it necessary, as they are in the specification accompanying the report.

Gov. REEDER: I desire to know if this committee has reported what states are represented and entitled to a vote in this Convention. Have they so reported?

Mr. BENTON: They have so reported.

Mr. DAVIS, of Massachusetts: I desire to have that portion of the report read, stating which states are represented and entitled to a vote in this Convention, with the number of votes to each.

Mr. BENTON: In accordance with the suggestion, I will read:

Maine, ...	16
New Hampshire, ...	10
Vermont, ...	10
Massachusetts, ...	26
Rhode Island, ...	8
Connecticut, ...	12
New York, ...	70
New Jersey, ...	28
Pennsylvania, ...	54.

Maryland,.....	10
Delaware,.....	6
Virginia,.....	20
Kentucky,.....	24
Ohio,.....	46
Indiana,.....	26
Missouri,.....	18
Michigan,.....	12
Illinois,.....	22
Texas,.....	8
Wisconsin,.....	10
Iowa,.....	8
California,.....	8
Minnesota,.....	8
Oregon,.....	5
Kansas,.....	6
Nebraska,.....	6
District of Columbia,.....	4

Hon. TIMOTHY DAVIS, of Massachusetts, moved that so much of the report as related to the delegation from Texas be referred back to the committee.

Mr. WILMOT, of Pennsylvania: I move to amend the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts, so as to include the States of Maryland, Kentucky and Virginia. I had foreseen, before I came to this Convention, that the question would very properly arise as to the propriety of admitting those states to a full vote in this Convention. We are a Convention of delegates representing a party having constituencies at home. This is not a mass convention, in which each man's voice is to be heard, and in which a mere numerical majority of all who choose to attend controls the result, but this is a Convention of delegates representing a constituency, and having constituents at home to represent. [Great applause.] Now, sir, can it be possible that those gentlemen who come here from states in which they cannot maintain an

organized party—is it possible that they are to come here and by a full vote control the action of the Convention? I can see nothing better calculated to demoralize a party, and to break it up, than just such a proceeding. Why, sir, this nomination is to be the nomination of the Republican party in the Union, not the nomination of respectable gentlemen who may belong to the Republican party in Virginia, Maryland or Kentucky. What are the facts in Maryland? In Maryland, thirty gentlemen assembled in Baltimore for the purpose of sending a delegation to this Convention. Did they assemble as the representatives of a party? Not at all. They have never had a Republican party in Maryland, and, in my judgment, there will be no such party there until the people of the free states shall place this government in different hands, and relieve them from the tyranny which now weighs them down. There are respectable gentlemen in Maryland, many of them who sympathize with us and our cause; and so there are in every Southern State; but they have not the power to maintain a party organization. These gentlemen are not here as the representatives of any organized party at all. If this thing is to be done, the result of the deliberations of this Convention, respecting its nominee, may be anything other than such a result as would be produced by the voices of those only who are properly represented upon this floor. Admit this precedent, sir, and hereafter some candidate, or rather the friends of the candidate, may, in their anxiety to procure a result favorable to their wishes, at the next Convention we shall have, carrying this thing still further, delegates not representing any party—but there will be gentlemen, excellent gentlemen, no doubt, coming in here from every state of the Union, brought here by influences from the North, but not sent here by a party at home. That will be the result. [Applause.] Sir, they may possibly come here in this manner, in a situation of this kind. I cast no imputation upon the gentlemen who come here to this Convention. I have full confidence in their integrity and in the earnestness and zeal with which they are enlisted in the cause;

but, sir, in another Convention that may assemble here, gentlemen may come from South Carolina, from Alabama, from Arkansas, and from Mississippi, for the express purpose of controlling, demoralizing and breaking up the Republican party. [Loud cheering.] Now, sir, if this is not stopped, there is no help for us. The true policy of the Republican party is to allow all its members a voice, but in proportion to their numbers. The committee have reported here that three hundred and four votes shall be necessary to a choice—a majority of the votes of all the states, when a large portion of those states are not represented here. Why have they done that? Why have they broken down the plain old Republican rule, that the majority—the real majority—shall control? Because they know it is necessary for the accomplishment of some object. That rule, if adopted, would establish one precedent in the admission of men here to vote who are not representatives of a party; and then they adopt another mischievous rule for the purpose of rectifying the first. What we want is, that the representatives of the Republican party here should vote for a candidate for President, and that the majority should control. [Tremendous cheering.] That is what we desire. The rule that is proposed, would introduce upon us thirty or forty votes that do not represent any party whatever. They are gentlemen of character, gentlemen of worth, gentlemen who sympathize in this movement heartily; but they represent no organized party—they have no constituency at home. You admit them here, and then to avoid the consequences of your first wrongful act, you require three hundred and four votes for the nomination of a candidate. I, therefore, move that this question respecting Texas, embraced in the first motion, embrace, also, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and the District of Columbia, and all be referred back to this committee.

Mr. EWING, of Pennsylvania: I deprecate the sentiment of my friend from Pennsylvania. [Voice—"That's the talk." Applause.] We all come here as Republicans, and those men

who came here from the slave states named deserve tenfold more credit than those who come here from the free states. Why, sir, disfranchise our friends from Virginia, a border state — a free state so far as concerns Western Virginia — my neighbors! Sir, shall they be disfranchised in this Convention of Republicans, [voices — “No, no!”] by Pennsylvania, New York or New England, because they have the courage to stand up in a slave state for Republicanism and for free thought? [Applause] While, sir, we may not be willing to give those states the full power of the whole delegation of the whole state, yet in the name of God shall they not represent their immediate districts? It cannot be that a Convention of Republicans, assembled here from the whole United States, will ever adopt such a doctrine as to disfranchise our friends that come from the Southern States. Why, sir, I was mortified at such a sentiment coming from my distinguished friend from Pennsylvania, *that* these gentlemen who have come here in defiance of the sentiment which prevails in their own states; have come here as bold and independent Republicans, and who are as good Republicans at home as here, should be voted out. They are representatives of the party so far as there is a party in those states, and we wish to build up the party in these states. I hope that this Convention never will adopt the principle to exclude these gentlemen who come here from the Southern States, because we may yet take a candidate from one of those Southern States. I know not what may be the result.

Mr. ARMOUR, of Maryland: Mr. Chairman, I stand before this Convention and this assembled host of freemen a representative from the State of Maryland. [Applause and three cheers for Maryland.] I claim to be as true a Republican as the distinguished member of the “People’s” party from Pennsylvania. [Laughter and much applause.] I have dared more than he has ever dared. [Applause.] I have periled more than he has ever periled. He lives in a free state; he breathes the pure air of the gallant old Keystone State, and

yet they have not arrived at a condition in which they are willing to avow themselves Republicans. [Great applause.] I faced the mob in Baltimore ; I faced the mob urged on by the aristocracy of the custom house, menial hirelings of this corrupt administration. I went to my home and found that I had been burned in effigy and suspended by the neck because I dared to avow myself the friend of freedom. We met in Baltimore in obedience to the call of the National Committee. We have a party in Maryland, and we can poll from three to four thousand votes, [a voice, "good for you," and applause,] and if ever we expect Republican principles to prevail all over this land, we must organize, and you who live in the northern states must fraternize with us, and not despise the day of small things. [Applause.] There is the coat of arms of my grand little commonwealth, "*CRESCITE ET MULTIPLICAMINI*," and that shall be the motto of the Republicans of Maryland. We will grow, and we will increase, until Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and all the states of the northwest will welcome our gallant little commonwealth to the band of states which have ever been unshrinking in their devotion and their loyalty to the cause of human freedom. I scorn the idea. I am proud to despise the sentiment which says that northern influences have been brought to bear upon us. We are unpurchased and unpurchaseable. [Loud applause.] And we tell Pennsylvania to put that in her pipe and smoke it. [Laughter and applause.] Exclude us from the Convention if you will—turn us out of these doors ; [cries of "No," and "we won't,"] we will go home, notwithstanding, and nominate an electoral ticket, and under the blessing of Heaven we will do all that we can do to advance the common cause of humanity. I beg not for northern votes to sustain us here. I am sure there will be a spontaneous outburst of the free sentiments and the true sympathy of the people here. And if this Convention attempts to exclude us, that large assemblage of people will frown it down. [Applause.] I have vindicated myself. I have vindicated my co-delegates.

I have vindicated my state. Your applause assures me of the fact, and I will give way. [Three cheers for Maryland.]

Mr. JAMES WYSE, of District of Columbia: Mr. President, I come from the capital of this great and mighty republic, and like my friend, I am descended from old Maryland. [Applause.] I stand in this mighty Convention congregated in the queen city of the great west, the representative from the District of Columbia, of the great Republican party. [Loud cheers.] I stand here the representative of the persecuted and down-trodden and disfranchised people that have no vote for President, no voice in Congress, and no voice anywhere to legislate for us, and yet our territory contains a hundred thousand freemen. I came to this city as a representative of the Republican party for no sinister purpose, but for the people of that disfranchised district. We claim from the people of this country the right of franchise; we claim the right of citizenship; we claim to be heard in this discussion, and not to be silent longer in this republic. We have no legislature. We ask of Congress a legislature, and we intend that they shall give us a territorial legislature and a representation in Congress—that we shall have our own laws, and that Congress will confirm them—that we will be a people, and have a voice in this great republic. I come here to tell this people that they have trodden down the Republican party with the iron heel of despotism, worse and more tyrannical than that of Russia or the Austrian Empire. What has the Buchanan administration done? Why sir, they have gone into the workshops of the government to seek out a Republican, and then turn him out to grass, taking the bread from his family if he did not bow down to the slave power. But thanks be to God, we come here like the gentleman from Maryland, daring to be Republicans; and we will baptize that District of Columbia over again; and, by the help of God, we will exclude slavery from it in less than two years.

Mr. BLAKEY, of Kentucky: Having just arrived from a meeting of the Committee on Platform, I understand that a pro-

position has been made that this Convention shall exclude the delegates from the state which in part I represent. I should not have been more surprised had I been told that a proposition had been gravely made that the ashes of Washington should have been placed without the pale of this continent. [Cheers.] I should not have been more surprised had I been told that a proposition had been gravely made that the remains, the precious remains, now silently resting under the shade of Ashland, be removed from the precious soil of Kentucky; nor should I have been more surprised had I been informed that it had been gravely proposed that Cassius M. Clay [Applause.] should be buried. Who dare propose, I say, to institute a proposition here that the free born sons of Kentucky and of Virginia, and of Maryland, and of the District of Columbia, or even of Georgia, or any southern state, have not just as good a right to be Republicans and breathe free air, and be free men upon American soil as the old Keystone State. [Applause.] Gentlemen, I have but one word more to say, and I want it to be heard, and I wish it could be heard from one end of the continent to the other. I had the honor of a seat and a prominent position, it was a position of which my children and their children will be proud, in the Republican Convention of 1856. [Applause.] When the vote of Kentucky was called for, for candidate for the Vice-Presidency I had the honor then and there to announce that Kentucky had been experimenting; that we had held up the Declaration of Independence before the mirror, and saw reflected the platform of the 17th of June, 1856; that we held up the precious ordinance of 1787, and saw reflected the Wilmot proviso; [applause,] and that Kentucky cast her vote for David Wilmot. [Laughter and applause.] Thus stood Kentucky in 1856! Can I be forgiven for that sin? [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. WM. A. PHILLIPS, of Kansas: Mr. President and gentlemen of the Republican Convention, I stand here with my fellow colleagues to represent the people of Kansas. The

Republicans of Kansas, whom we have the honor to represent upon this floor, sent us here expecting that we would have several grave issues to meet, but they did not expect that the representatives of Kansas would have to appear upon this floor with proof that Kansas is an integral part of the Republican party. Kansas and the Republican party were born together. [Hearty applause.] Its first impulses were stirred by the wrongs of her people; the party was baptized in her blood. [Rapturous applause.] The people of Kansas in 1856 appeared in the National Republican Convention and threw a vote for the then Republican nominee. The people of Kansas throughout the whole of their struggle have vindicated in Kansas the Republican party, their cause and their principles. It may be said to-day that Kansas is not a state—Kansas is not a territory—it is scarcely a state; but the cause of liberty is identified with her history. She has a history and a glorious one. This administration, whose duty it was to foster this infant state, has dealt with Kansas with a harsh rule. The hand of the administration, that she has felt so often, has been a hard, stern hand; and all has been done to keep her back, and prevent her from rising and bearing aloft the banner of Republican liberty. If Kansas had accepted the Lecompton bribe she would have been a state to-day. If Kansas had not been one of the strongest and best united organizations in the Republican party, she would have been received into the Union years ago by the Democrats at Washington. [Applause.] But Kansas scorned the Lecompton bribe, and stands there to-day, and will stand forever, a Republican state. [Great cheers.] Mr. Chairman, Kansas does not expect to come into this Convention and be alienated from the Republican party. She stands now a territory because she would not share or accept the spoils of the Democratic party. She has alienated herself from everything to identify her people and her destiny with the cause of the National Republican party; and now I don't think the time has come when the Republicans can alienate her from them. [Loud cheers.] I do not wish to consume the time of this

Convention by arguing this point. I do not think the gentlemen of this Convention will demand that Kansas shall be excluded. She has come here to say if she have preferences she will exercise these preferences or leave this hall. Kansas believes in the right, which has carried her through many a dark hour; and she believes that it is principle alone which will carry the Republican cause through in triumph.

Mr. WILMOT, of Pennsylvania: I regret exceedingly that I was misunderstood by the gentlemen who have responded to me in behalf of the States of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky. I made no proposition to exclude those gentlemen from a fair representation upon this floor—[Applause]—none at all. I proposed that certain states be referred back to the committee for the purpose of an investigation, to see what vote they are entitled to on this floor.

Mr. BLAKEY: I was not present when the proposition was made.

Mr. WILMOT: In the course of my argument, for the purpose of enforcing the propriety of my amendment, I presented certain considerations that seemed to me to be entitled to weight, to wit: that gentlemen who come here representing no party—having no constituencies—were not entitled to vote for their states upon this floor. That was the simple proposition that I made. Now, I desire that the facts be inquired into. Will it be pretended that thirty gentlemen meeting at the city of Baltimore, not delegates from the counties of the state, but gentlemen assembling together—have a right to represent and select twenty delegates?

Mr. ARMOUR: Will you allow me to correct you?

Mr. WILMOT: Certainly.

Mr. ARMOUR: There has existed in Baltimore city, for a number of years, a Republican association. That association, in obedience to the call of the National Executive Committee,

issued calls for the Republicans of Maryland to meet in Baltimore, at such a time specified in the call, for the purpose of nominating an electoral ticket and sending delegates to this Convention. When that Convention met every Congressional district in the State of Maryland was represented. [Applause.] There were gentlemen from the eastern shore and the western shore—from the extreme east to the extreme west. There were, perhaps, only thirty-five or forty delegates; but there were at least 150 or 200 Republicans in the Convention. Baltimore city sent only eleven delegates, and therefore she was entitled to only eleven votes, yet the hall was full of Republicans. My town is full of Republicans, and I wish to say in reference to the remark of Judge Wilmot, that we have no party in Maryland, I have the assurance of a gentleman, and know it to be true, that in my town—which polls only about 900 votes—we can poll 300 votes at the next election, nearly half the votes of the town—not of the district. That is all I have to say.

Mr. WILMOT: The explanation that the gentleman has made, if it does anything, would enforce the propriety of my motion. What I have desired is that the committee should investigate this subject and report the facts in respect to these states. That is what I have desired. If Maryland be properly represented here; if there be a party in Maryland, whether great, large or small, that stands as an organized party in the field, that is the point; not that there may be Republicans scattered over the state. There may be a majority in the town in which the gentleman lives. There may be individual Republicans scattered over that state in every county, but have they combined together in a Republican organization, and do they come here representing an organized party? This is the question I desire this committee to inquire into, and that is the very object of the motion. The committee might report that Maryland was entitled to her senatorial votes on this floor, and that she was entitled to a vote from such and such a district. If they so reported upon the facts

before them I shall be willing to accept that report. So too, as to Virginia, if the committee reported that certain districts in Virginia took regular action as an organized party and elected their delegates, and were entitled to so many votes in virtue of the delegates from such districts, I should be willing to accept that report, and in addition, I should stand ready to give them the two electoral votes of their state. So in respect to Texas. But what are the facts about her, gentlemen? I speak of it upon nothing but rumor and as a rumor—I don't assert the fact, for I know nothing about it—but I am told that the gentlemen who are here from Texas, or a majority of them, are not residents of the state at all, and that they have no Republican organization in that state. It may be said that the delegates of Oregon are not residents of that state. But we know that Oregon has a formidable party—a minority it is true; but we know that they held a regular State Convention, and that they elected their delegates regularly, and that some of those gentlemen have given deputations to certain distinguished gentlemen here, and that these gentlemen are entitled to their seats; so if Texas has held a regular convention and elected her delegates, and they find it inconvenient to attend as delegates, and they have deputed others to represent them, then, gentlemen, they are entitled to seats upon this floor. But if there has been no convention—no movement in Texas, if nothing having the semblance of a party has taken action in the State of Texas, and certain gentlemen are here for the purpose of controlling this result, then I say it is mischievous, it is demoralizing; it will break up any party under God's Heaven. Will the distinguished gentleman, a candidate before this Convention, or rather his friends, consent that they shall be overslaughed or defeated by the votes of gentlemen representing no party, by gentlemen having no constituents? Will the friends of the candidate which Pennsylvania will present submit to such a procedure? If they do, it would be extremely hard—it would be difficult to enforce submission. This was the object of my proposition. I wish, gentlemen, instead of indulging in

declamation and rhetorical flourishes, in appeals to the ashes of Washington, had consented to meet the question fairly by argument. I raised no question with the good gentleman from Maryland as to who has dared more or suffered more in this cause. I concede to him and his associates the palm of victory in that. But if every Republican who has suffered in the cause of freedom is to come in to settle this question, then the little territory of Kansas can control this Convention—under that rule she has the right to control it. She has poured out her blood freely in this cause. The graves of our murdered sons are scattered all over her territory. If the question is as to those who have suffered in the cause of Republicanism, who have been mobbed, and those are to come here and control this Convention, then let us adjourn and invite Kansas to come here in a body, man, woman and child, and let them say whom the Republican party shall nominate as candidate for President. The simple question is, are all the “good men” here from Virginia, Maryland, Texas and certain other districts as representatives, or are they here as individual Republicans? I don’t question their Republicanism. I have no doubt upon that point. I did not intimate that they had been purchased by money; I cast no imputations upon their integrity; but this I do assert, that if this precedent be adopted, that at the next Convention the sympathies or the anxiety of friends to secure their candidate may be employed to secure delegations here from every state of the Union, not because there is a party there to represent, but because the anxiety of the friends of candidates will bring men here. Would it be difficult to find twelve men in the State of Tennessee who are Republicans? I doubt not if inducements were held out to them they could come here from Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and all the southern states. Then what would be the result? Instead of requiring 304 votes, you would have to require that there should be 400 votes. Why require 400, or why require 304, except that you have already virtually demoralized the Convention? If you have men here who do not represent an organized party at home, they should

not cast votes for their states for a Republican President. It was for the purpose of inquiry, not to proscribe or disfranchise anybody, that my motion was made.

MR. MONTGOMERY BLAIR, of Maryland: Will you permit a delegate from Maryland to say one word. I wish merely to say to the Convention—[Voices “Louder!”] I can only make myself heard over a small space. But I must say one word, and that is, so far as my feelings are concerned, and of a large majority of those with whom I am associated on this floor, the sentiments uttered by the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania meet our entire accord. [Applause.] We wish no larger voice in this deliberation than the gentlemen of the Convention with whom we are associated shall deem our members and those whom we represent entitled to have on this floor. [Cheers.] We do not come here, (and I speak for myself and, I believe, a large portion of those representing slave states on this floor,) we do not wish to stand here as dictating to those who have to elect the candidates. We are willing, we ask only to be heard, and if permitted we will give our votes in the direction which we think ought to be taken by the Convention; but we do not wish, and we will endeavor so to act—and I am sure I represent the sentiments of those who are associated with me—upon this point as not to give any controlling voice in the Convention. [Applause.] That is all I have to say upon the subject. I would be glad to have some action, if the Convention deem it necessary, taken upon the point which the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania has, I think, timely made before this body, and I therefore second his motion. [Applause.]

GOV. CLEVELAND, of Connecticut: I regret exceedingly the remarks of the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Montgomery Blair; I can see imminent danger in this movement now made, and I look upon it as unfortunate. We are here to-day with high hopes of victory—with almost the assurance of victory. We should remember that in consequence of the

action of one solitary man as a representative in Congress, for the State of Maryland—to Henry W. Davis—we have a Speaker by whom we have been able to expose the corrupt frauds of the administration, and give us the assurance of victory in November. [Loud cheers.] And yet we are not willing to give her a full vote! In the name of God and humanity what are we doing? I heard a Maryland delegate say he was willing to take a half loaf of bread. I want to give her all; she has given us all. [Cheers.] This is all on that point. We have been charged for years with being a sectional party. The lie does not stick in their throats, but we can make it stick in theirs and ours by our folly; we are not a sectional party! [Cheers.] We want the slave states to come here and be represented. I say in this very connection, that, knowingly or not, the understanding of the slave states is that the power is to be changed from the hands of the slave oligarchy and placed in the hands of the friends of freedom, in the free states as well as the slave states, and hence they deserve to share in this great and glorious work. If we succeed next fall, as I believe we shall, with men competent to take charge of the government, and put secession and disunion where it belongs (and God grant we may all live to see it,) we will probably have the entire slave states represented in our next National Convention. [Loud cheers.] I believe it. Why should we not? The disunionists are in a small minority in the slave states, and they keep down the majority by just such unwise operations as was attempted here this morning. If we treat them kindly and hold our hands out to them, as men competent to fill the high offices of the United States, we shall have the majority out from under the heel of the slave oligarchy. We shall unite the voice of the American people in favor of the Republican organization. I say, sir, and I wish it to be understood everywhere, I am not here for the purpose of making war on the slave states, nor do I believe that there is a man in this house who is. We have been charged with that. It is false and they know it. We are here for the purpose of satisfying the American people that we are willing to

give the slave states their entire rights. We say to those gentlemen, "with that you will be content—beyond that you shall not go." A large majority of the voters south, if they dare express it in the south, would be with us. Their hearts are with us now. For God's sake and humanity's sake let us not establish the fact, by our folly, that we are a sectional party, and hate the slave states. [Cheers.]

MR. OYLER, of Indiana: I merely desire, gentlemen, to call the attention of this Convention to the call inviting delegates to this Convention. Read and reflect for one minute what that call contains and it settles this question. What is it?

"The Republican electors of the several states, the members of the People's Party of Pennsylvania and of the Opposition Party of New Jersey, and all others who are willing to co-operate with them in support of the candidates which shall there be nominated, and who are opposed to the policy of the present administration, to federal corruption and usurpation, to the extension of slavery into the territories, to the new and dangerous political doctrine that the constitution of its own force carries slavery into all the Territories of the United States, to the opening of the African slave trade, to any inequality of rights among citizens; and who are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, under the constitution recently adopted by its people, of restoring the federal administration to a system of rigid economy and to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, of maintaining inviolate the rights of the states and defending the soil of every state and territory from lawless invasion, and of preserving the integrity of this Union and the supremacy of the constitution and laws passed in pursuance thereof against the conspiracy of the leaders of a sectional party, to resist the majority principle as established in this government even at the expense of its existence, are invited to send from each state two delegates from each congressional district, and four delegates at large, to the Convention."

Why when we have issued a call to those men, called them from the sunny shores of the south to the bleak regions of the north, to meet us, why should be mooted the right of these gentlemen to counsel, to vote, to select a candidate and with us go home to help us elect the man that we may nominate, and carry forward the principles that we proclaim here. [Cheers.] I say, gentlemen, you can't discuss this question. The question is settled by the call. If we are honest, if we are not the veriest hypocrites in the world, we have no right to question the right of the slave states to be represented here upon this floor. [Applause.] I have a word to say about the territories. I don't think that they stand upon the same ground. The call is not to them. They have no vote for our candidates after we have nominated them, and I am in favor of following out the rules of the federation. I am in favor of the delegates from the territories holding seats upon this floor, being heard, and attentively heard, on our part; I am in favor of their counseling with us, but when it comes to the vote, as they have no vote for the ticket, they ought not to vote in forming it. The District of Columbia is in the same situation.

Gov. REEDER, of Pennsylvania—[in his seat]: Mr. Chairman, [cries of "take the stand,"] I can be heard here if I can get started. I have not much to say, but what I have to say I shall endeavor to say to the point. It seems to me that a great deal has been said altogether outside of this question now before the Convention. The proposition before us, if I understand it, is to refer this report back to the committee for the purpose of ascertaining whether these gentlemen now here upon the floor of the Convention from the states designated represent the entire, or less than the entire state. Now sir, all the eloquence, and all the fire of many of the gentlemen upon the other side is lost when we make the avowal that we have not the most remote idea of disfranchising the delegates who come here from the southern states. [Loud applause.] Sir, we humbly ask from our southern brethren

upon this floor the poor privilege of being put upon an equality with them. [Renewed applause.] When Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana and Iowa come here, sir, with a delegate from one, two or three congressional districts, we want them to vote for one, two or three congressional districts. [Applause.] But, when they vote the entire vote of the State of Maryland, and the vote of the electors at large, they have a great advantage over us. What I wish to avoid, sir, is that in any state, whether north or south, east or west, a few men should come from a single county, or a single congressional district, and then come upon the floor of this Convention and ask to cast the entire vote of the state. Now, sir, I ask these gentlemen who have declaimed so loudly and so eloquently in favor of our brethren of the south to listen to us; and no man on this floor or away from this floor can go further than I in my admiration for those gentlemen who stand up in the face of the despotism exercised by the oligarchy that surrounds them, and contend for the rights of free speech, free labor and free men. [Applause.] Sir, I know what the despotism of that oligarchy is. [Great applause.] I know, sir, that it hunts men like hounds who have the spirit of free-men. [Renewed applause.] I respect and I admire every man to whom God has given the nerve and the back bone to stand up and face that despotism. [Continued applause.] I am ready to extend the right hand of fellowship to all the gentlemen who have come out "tried out of the fire" to meet us in this national conclave. What I ask of them is the poor privilege of being on an equal footing with them in this Convention. I am sure they ought not and would not ask any more; but if gentlemen are here representing a single district from the State of Texas, or a single district from the State of Maryland, or from the State of Kentucky, will they, sir, be unjust and unfair enough to stand up here, being the representatives of a single district, and ask to cast the vote of the entire state? Assuredly not, sir; and assuredly those gentlemen, when they come to reflect upon this subject, will see the propriety of ascertaining how much of their state is

represented, and having found that to apportion their vote according to what they really represent, giving to them such a vote as they represent, to which I would be willing to add two votes at large to which the state is entitled. [Prolonged applause, and cries of "Question," "Question."]

Mr. BUCKLAND, of Michigan: I cannot discover what object is to be gained by referring back that report to the committee, but that the gentleman may have the benefit of his motion. I wish to make an amendment. I propose to include also Oregon.

The CHAIR: I will put the question first on the general recommitment, and then the gentleman may propose states and territories.

Mr. BUCKLAND: I propose to make an amendment, and I believe the vote should first be taken upon my motion to amend.

Mr. McCRILLIS, of Maine: I have a single word to say, in reply to the gentleman from Indiana. I agree with the gentleman in the doctrines he announces, as to the territories and the confederation; all of them, sir, except Kansas. Why, I say Kansas is in the Union now. It is a rule of equity, that when a thing ought to be done, it is to be considered as done. [Applause and laughter.] I say, sir, Kansas, if she is out of the Union, is out of the Union on account of the corrupt and despotic senate of the United States, and in this Convention she should be treated as a sovereign state. While I am up, I will make a remark in reply to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Wilmot, who told the Convention that the time would come, although he qualified it some, when South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and all the southern states, would be represented in this Convention. On behalf of the most northeastern state in this Union, the State of Maine, I say that we from that cold region will welcome them—aye, thrice welcome them. [Applause.]

Mr. HACKLEMAN, of Indiana: I have no doubt about the propriety of admitting the delegates from the southern states, except one, to a vote in this Convention. I have great doubts in regard to the propriety of admitting the State of Texas. So far as Virginia, so far as Maryland, or Missouri, or Kentucky are concerned, it is a matter of public notoriety, that they have held Republican Conventions to appoint delegates to this Convention; but where is the notoriety of the Convention of the State of Texas? I want to hear from the delegate from the State of Texas, to know who appointed him to come here. All the others I shall welcome with open hands. We are no sectional party. We are the party of the Union. [Applause.] We are the party to control this government, and we want all these states here. But let us know in regard to Texas. I understand that was the original proposition; the other was added by way of amendment. I do want an investigation so far as Texas is concerned.

Mr. M. T. C. CHANDLER, of Texas: Gentlemen of the Convention, I cannot believe that you are prepared to stifle the voice of Texas, because there the Republican party is in its infancy; for though it is in its infancy, it is nevertheless a hopeful child. [Loud cheers.] Gentlemen, the foreign population—the Germans, are with us, [Loud cheers] and there will be an electoral ticket in the field there. We come here with no axes to grind. We have our preferences, to be sure, and when the time comes, if we are permitted, we shall express that preference. I am sorry that this motion should come from the gentleman from Pennsylvania, where there is not sufficient pluck, where there is not the moral courage to come out and to take a manly stand in favor of the right as a Republican party. [Applause, cheers and a few hisses.] Organize yourselves and train under the Republican banner before you accuse us in Texas of not having a Republican organization. I throw back the insinuation that we have not a Republican party in Texas. The intimation is unbecoming, it is unmanly, it is anti-Republican. [Cheers.] I hail

from Galveston. There is free soil, there is anti-slavery sentiment there, and it will be expressed next fall at the polls, depend upon it. [Loud applause and cheers.] We ask a hearing on the floor of this Convention, and we believe you will grant it to us.

Mr. EGGLESTON, of Ohio: I understand now that we are about to go into the business for which we were convened, and that no part of that business is the making of sympathetic speeches, as to the right to admit the delegates of this territory or that territory, or this section or that section of country, into this Convention. Now, sir, the gentleman from Indiana has well said that this investigation only had to be made so far as relates to Texas. I wish to have the members of this Convention confined to that call, and then the Committee, which has reported, or attempted to report on Credentials, has not the nerve to go out, and come in and say to this Convention what they believe right, and who should vote. Let them go out again, and come in with a definite report, and then we will say whether we will support them or no. For gentlemen to come here and make speeches about Kansas or any other territory is entirely out of order. I have spent my money and I have worked for Kansas, but I am not here now to talk about it. I am here now to nominate the men who shall be President and Vice-President of the United States. [Applause.]

Mr. GOODRICH, of Minnesota: I simply desire to say that I am in favor of less talk and more work. ["Good, good"—"No more speeches now."] I am not going to make a speech. I hope the discussion on this question for the present will here terminate, and that the question will now be put. [Cries of "Question, question."]

Mr. CARTER: I would like to have the District of Columbia, Kansas and Nebraska included.

The question being on the adoption of the amendment of Mr. Buckland, of Michigan, recommitting so much of the

report as relates to the State of Oregon, the vote was taken and the amendment was voted down.

The question then being on the adoption of the amendment of Mr. Wilmot, recommitting such portion as referred to Kentucky, Virginia and Maryland, the vote was taken, and this amendment was also voted down.

The question then recurring on the motion of Mr. Davis, of Massachusetts, to recommit such portion as referred to Texas, the vote was taken and the motion lost. [Applause.]

Mr. LOWRY, of Pennsylvania: I now move that the whole report be recommitted to the committee, and that we take the vote by states.

Mr. EGGLESTON, of Ohio: And I second the motion.

Mr. LOWRY: That committee has not given us anything to act upon. It has given us nothing. I am not going to inflict a speech upon this Convention, but I ask that the committee have it back, that they may give us something.

Mr. BENTON, of New Hampshire: I desire to state that the committee appointed a sub-committee, who considered the case of Maryland particularly, and they were unanimously of the opinion that the delegates reported from that State were entitled to represent the State in this Convention. They had not the time to make that investigation in regard to Texas that was desirable, but it was understood that the Convention was in session, waiting to receive the report of the committee; therefore it was thought desirable, it being the opinion of the majority of that committee that they were entitled to their seats, so to report. I think the committee was entirely satisfied with the evidence furnished to them as to all the delegates who have been reported here as being entitled to represent the several States from which they come. I state this at the request of the members of that committee.

Mr. LOWRY: I call for a vote by States.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair will inform the gentleman that there is no rule by which that can be arrived at under the rules of the House of Representatives which have been adopted as the rules of the Convention.

Motion to recommit lost on a *viva voce* vote.

A division being loudly called for,

The PRESIDENT: A division is called for. With the consent of the Convention, the roll of the States will be called further, and the delegations will then announce their votes.

Mr. BENTON, of N. H., and Chairman of the Committee on Credentials: I will say here that the committee are not satisfied that the delegates claiming seats from Texas were entitled to them as a whole. The Chairman of the committee thought it ought to have further investigation.

The roll of the States was then called, on the motion of Mr. LOWRY, of Pennsylvania, to recommit the report to the Committee on Credentials.

STATES.	YES.	NO.
Maine,.....	3	13
New Hampshire, ...	9	1
Vermont, ...	9	1
Massachusetts, ...	13	9
Rhode Island,.....	8	
Connecticut, ...	10	2
New York,.....	1	69
New Jersey, ...		14
Pennsylvania, ...	53½	0½
Maryland, ...	4	6
Delaware,.....	1	5
Virginia, ...	30	
Kentucky, ...	24	
Ohio, ...	46	
Indiana, ...	26	
Missouri, ...	4	14
Michigan, ...		12

STATES.	YES.	NO.
Illinois, ...	22	
Wisconsin, ...		10
Iowa, ...	8	
California, ...	4	3
Minnesota, ...		8
Oregon, ...		5
Total, ...	<u>275½</u>	<u>172½</u>

The delegation from Texas asked to be excused from voting.

The Territories and the District of Columbia were not called.

Mr. GOODRICH, of Minnesota: Are there any instructions to accompany this recommitment. [Many voices, "No."]

Mr. BURGESS, of Ohio: I move, sir, that we now adjourn until 3 o'clock.

The motion of Mr. Burgess to adjourn was carried.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention reassembled at 3:15 P. M., and was called to order by the President.

The PRESIDENT begs leave to suggest that there are outside of this building, vast as it is, twice as many honest hearts and wise heads as there are here. They have requested me to suggest that Gov. Randall, of Wisconsin, will go out and favor them with his views. [Applause and cries of "Corwin," "Corwin."]

Mr. TRACY, of California: I think Mr. Corwin had better go out with Gov. Randall. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDENT announced the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. BENTON, of New Hampshire, Chairman of the committee: Mr. President—The Committee on Credentials have instructed me to report that, having examined the credentials, &c., of the several gentlemen claiming seats in this Convention, they find gentlemen entitled to seats in the following States, and each State to the following number of delegates:

STATES.	NO. OF DELEGATES.	NO. OF ELECT'L VOTES
Maine, ...	16	8
New Hampshire, ...	10	5
Vermont, ...	10	5
Massachusetts, ...	26	13
Rhode Island, ...	8	4
Connecticut, ...	12	6
New York, ...	70	35
New Jersey, ...	14	7
Pennsylvania, ...	54	27
Maryland, ...	11	8
Delaware, ...	6	8
Virginia, ...	23	15
Kentucky, ...	23	12
Ohio, ...	46	23
Indiana, ...	26	13
Missouri, ...	18	9
Michigan, ...	12	6
Illinois, ...	22	11
Wisconsin, ...	10	5
Iowa, ...	8	4
California, ...	8	4
Minnesota, ...	8	4
Oregon, ...	5	3
TERRITORIES.		
Kansas, ...	6	
Nebraska, ...	6	
District Columbia, ...	2	

[Cries of "Texas," "Texas,"] The committee have considered the question in regard to the representation from the

State of Texas; they have given to the examination all that care which they were able to, and which the time from the adjournment of the Convention this forenoon would allow, and they have instructed me almost unanimously, with a solitary vote as an exception, to report that Texas be allowed six votes in this Convention. [Tremendous applause and cries of "good," "good."] It was proved before the committee that the convention which elected the delegates from Texas—resident delegates who are here in attendance—was a mass convention; that it was called upon a petition signed by some three hundred of the legal voters of Texas. [Applause.] That that call was published in the State; that written notices and advertisements were posted up in various parts of Texas, where there is any number of people in favor of the principles of the Republican party; and the committee were almost unanimously of the opinion that these delegates, elected under these circumstances, were fairly entitled to act as the representatives of the Republican party of the State of Texas. [Prolonged applause.]

The question being on the adoption of the report, it was adopted unanimously, amid great cheering.

Mr. CORWINE, of Ohio, and Chairman of the Committee on Rules and the Order of Business, moved to take from the table the report of that committee.

The motion was carried.

Mr. CORWINE proceeded to read the rules reported by the committee, as follows: 1st. That upon all subjects before the Convention, the States and Territories shall be called in the following order: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan, Illinois, Texas, Wisconsin, Iowa, California, Minnesota, Oregon. Territories—Kansas, Nebraska, District of Columbia.

On motion the first rule was adopted.

2d. Four votes shall be cast by the delegates at large of each State, and each congressional district shall be entitled to two votes, and the vote of each delegation shall be reported by its Chairman.

Mr. GOODRICH, of Minnesota, moved as an amendment, that no delegation should cast a greater number of votes than there were delegates in attendance.

Mr. SARGENT, of California: It seems to me that the report of the Committee on Credentials just adopted, and which prescribes the basis of representation in this Convention, is in conflict with the rule now proposed to be adopted. This rule provides that two votes shall be cast from each congressional district. Now, with reference to Texas and certain other States, the rule has been changed. We have adopted the report of the Committee on Credentials, which provides that Texas shall have less votes than are accorded to her by this rule.

Mr. CORWINE: I think the gentleman is mistaken in regard to the character of the report of the Committee on Credentials. They simply report, I think, the number of representatives in attendance.

Mr. SARGENT: The report fixes the number of votes to be cast by each congressional district in the Convention. I move a further amendment by adding these words, "provided that this rule shall not conflict with any rule reported by the Committee on Credentials, and adopted by the Convention."

Mr. GOODRICH accepted the amendment of Mr. Sargent, and the amendment of Mr. Goodrich was adopted.

The rule as amended was then adopted.

3d.-The report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be acted upon before the Convention proceeds to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President.

On motion the rule was adopted.

4th. Three hundred and four votes, being a majority of the whole number of votes when all the States in the Union are represented in Convention, according to the ratio of representation prescribed in rule two, shall be required to nominate the candidates of this Convention for the office of President and Vice-President.

VOICES : [“ No, No !”]

The PRESIDENT : The Secretary will now read the minority rule, proposed as a substitute for that reported by the majority of the committee.

4th. That the majority of the whole number of votes represented in this Convention, according to the ratio prescribed by the second rule, shall be required to nominate candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President.

The PRESIDENT assigned the floor to Mr. Kelly.

Mr. KELLY, of Pennsylvania : [Taking the stand.]

Mr. JAMES, of New York : Am I not entitled to the floor, having offered the minority report ?

The CHAIR : The Chair thinks the majority has a right to the floor first, but it is a question of courtesy.

Mr. KELLY : As I appear, Mr. Chairman, at the request of a majority of the committee, simply to state the views which governed that committee in arriving at the conclusion they present, I will cheerfully yield the floor to the gentleman, and will present those views after we shall have heard him.

Mr. JAMES : Go on.

Mr. KELLY : The subject which now engages the attention of the Convention, was one of deep consideration to the committee. It seemed to them to be the most important question that came within the range of their duties. It is an important question for this Convention to decide, what vote shall nominate the candidates to be supported for President and

Vice-President? In the first place, Mr. Chairman, the committee asked what body had appointed them to report upon that question? And the answer was, that the National Republican Convention had appointed them, and that the candidates were to be the candidates of the National Republican party. [Great cheers.] And, consequently, that the number of votes upon which a man should be nominated should be a majority of the electoral college—no more and no less [Applause]; so that if the charge were made against the party or its candidates, that they were the candidates of a section, or a sectional party, it could be said they had been nominated by delegates representing a majority of the electoral colleges; by the same vote, that, in a convention where the majority rule, and where the nation sat in person through its representatives, would have nominated a candidate. It is simply a majority rule as applied to the electoral college. Having passed that cardinal point, minor, but very weighty and important considerations added themselves to these. A question was raised before the committee, when we came to fix the order in which States should be called. When they had named the States Kansas was not among them. A delegate from Nebraska was present, and a list of members handed to us by the Secretary of the Convention contained not only the names of the States, but Kansas and Nebraska and the District of Columbia. So far as sending that list was concerned, the Convention had told us that the States were to be represented—that Nebraska and the District of Columbia were to be represented—as if they were constituted States, and had an electoral power behind them. We knew, Mr. Chairman, that there were a few gallant men—brave spirits—honored throughout our country—honored wherever courage commands honor—here from Maryland, from Virginia, and from Kentucky. We knew that these men were here to testify to their manhood, their appreciation of their rights under the Constitution, and to proclaim to the free men of the North that they were Americans, who, under a despotism more dreadful and grasping and audacious than that of Naples,

Austria or Russia—Americans, who, under such a despotism, [a voice: “time!”], would take their lives in their hands and would go forth to say, “we are free men, and will unite with freemen of this country in restoring the government to the line of the fathers.” And we supposed that these men would all be admitted to this Convention, as though they carried with them the full electoral vote of their States respectively at their back. Now, Mr. Chairman, it occurred to your committee that it might so fall out, in view of the admission of Kansas here, and permit me to say that the humble individual who now addresses you as the organ of that committee, when it was proposed to exclude from our list that Territory and the District of Columbia, took the ground that Kansas was a State on the very ground taken by the eloquent gentleman from Maine, that equity holds that to have been which ought to have been. For three years she has been in power and in right a State, and if those delegates are not representing a State, it is by no reason of theirs, or their constituents, but by reason of the oppression and lawlessness of the United States Senate. Therefore we hold it right that she should be here. But there was not the same ground for Nebraska. [A voice: “How about Oregon?”] Now we saw that unless this rule was adopted it might so happen that our candidate would be nominated by less than a majority of this Convention. [Cries of “question.”] I am drawing to a close. Mr. Chairman, I am not here in defence of the rule proposed, personally. I am here at the request of the committee to present the rules they instructed me to present. When I have done that as briefly as I can, I will retire. [Voices: “All right, go on.”] Perceiving that it was possible, under the list of delegates to be admitted, that a candidate might be nominated who should not have a majority of the electors who represent the States and the congressional districts, there seemed to be additional reason why the rule, in itself so equitable, that a majority of the whole electoral college should fix the number of votes required, and they determined to submit it to the Convention. [A voice: “What about Oregon?”]

Oregon is a constituted State, and there was no question about Oregon. I am holding no dispute about her. The matter is now before the Convention, with the reasons that governed the committee ; and having done my duty, I will give way, as I was ready to do before I began. [Applause.]

Mr. JAMES, of New York : As the chairman of the minority of the committee, which presented the minority report, I arise for the purpose of giving the reasons why we saw fit to present a minority report against that presented by the majority, and I don't propose to entertain you with any particular eloquence, but to state simply the reason. By the vote which has already passed this Convention, as to the number of delegates represented upon this floor, if I understood the committee aright, there are 446 voting delegates upon the floor.

SECRETARY : The number is 466.

Mr. JAMES : Then there is a mistake. One of the Secretaries informs me that it is 466. I took the figures from one of the Reporters, who took it from the calling off of the chairman of the committee. We make that difference. We will call it the largest number then, 466. That was thought to be the number when this question arose in the committee, the report of which is now presented. There were but 17 members of that committee present, 10 being absent, and upon the sense of that body being called they stood nine to eight—nine for the majority and eight against it. You will thus see the difference between the two reports. One is substantially the "two-thirds rule." If there are 466 votes, 311, I believe, is two-thirds of that vote, and this rule requires 304. Therefore it is only seven short of the two-thirds rule, which has been adopted by the Democratic party in the management of their Conventions. I am not aware that any such rule was ever adopted by any party in opposition to that party, and I was not aware that that party ever adopted that rule

until 1836, and again in 1844, when it became necessary for the interest and purposes of slavery that the minority should rule the majority. For that reason I am opposed to that rule. [A voice: "That is right."] I have sufficient confidence in the integrity and judgment of this Convention to trust the nomination of its candidate to the majority of the delegates here. [Loud cheers.] If the minority report is adopted, instead of a two-thirds vote, the result will be left to the wisdom and patriotism of a majority of the Convention.

Loud calls of "question" were made, amid which several speakers attempted to get the floor.

A delegate from Michigan stated that some of the States had double delegations present, and in a *viva voce* vote would give double the number of votes they were entitled to.

He moved that the vote be taken by States.

Mr. MANN, of Pennsylvania: I desire to call the attention of this Convention to this new rule introduced here. I come here from a land where we acquiesce in the will of the majority [Applause], on all occasions wherever men are invited together to deliberate. I know nowhere in a Republican country where men are entitled to vote by proxy. I do conceive that to adopt any such rule here would be destructive of its character; it would be considered as aimed at the aspirations of an individual, and if an individual cannot be struck down in this broad country without doing a wrong, I should be the last on God's earth to do it. These are my sentiments, and the sentiments of the truly loyal hearts around me in Pennsylvania [applause], and when I barely announce them I shall trouble this Convention no further.

The roll of the States was then called on the motion to substitute the minority rule for the majority, CLEVELAND, of Connecticut, having taken the chair.

STATES.	AYES.	NOES.
Maine, ...	16	
New Hampshire, ...	10	
Vermont, ...	10	
Massachusetts, ...	22	3
Rhode Island, ...	4	4
Connecticut, ...	8	4
New York, ...	70	
New Jersey, ...	12	1
Pennsylvania, ...	33½	20½
Maryland, ...	5	6
Delaware, ...	6	
Virginia, ...	13	8
Kentucky, ...	10	9
Ohio, ...	32	9
Indiana, ...	1	25
Missouri, ...		18
Illinois, ...	15	7
Texas, ...	6	
Wisconsin, ...	10	
Iowa, ...	5	3
California, ...	8	
Minnesota, ...	8	
Oregon, ...	3	1
TERRITORIES.		
Kansas, ...	6	
Nebraska, ...	6	
District of Columbia, ...	2	
	333½	118½

So that the rule as reported by the majority was amended by substituting the rule reported by the minority.

The Pennsylvania delegation having failed to respond on the third call, owing to the vote of the delegation not being ascertained, Mr. Goodrich, of Minnesota, moved that the representatives of the People's party of Pennsylvania be excused from voting upon their own proposition. [Hisses and confusion.]

Mr. REEDER : Pennsylvania could not vote without retiring to another room to consult her large delegation. Did I understand a gentleman just now to intimate that Pennsylvania was not entitled to a vote upon this floor? If I did, I should be glad to know who he is, and where he comes from. [Immense applause, and cries of " Goodrich."]

Mr. GOODRICH : I rise, Mr. President—[Cries of " Sit down," and hisses.] I will—

The PRESIDENT : Gentlemen do not forget yourselves. You must keep order.

Mr. GOODRICH : Mr. President—[Cries of " Sit down," and hisses.] I will not set down. (Confusion.)

The PRESIDENT : The gentleman upon my right is desirous of explaining to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, so that there may be no ill blood in the Convention, even for a moment. Will you allow him to do it? Let us act, gentlemen, in a friendly spirit, and if men make remarks that are not exactly correct, let them be forgotten on the moment. I would say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that the expression of the gentleman [Mr. Goodrich] was promptly rebuked by the chair.

Mr. GOODRICH : I wish to state to the gentleman who desired to know who it was that had suggested that Pennsylvania had not a right here. I propose to respond to that interrogatory. I made no such remark. [Cheers, and cries of " Order."] When the roll was called, Pennsylvania was called for a third time, when a gentleman answered, who I suppose was speaking authoritatively for Pennsylvania, that she abandoned her proposition, the majority report, and then, as an act of humanity, I moved that she be excused from expressing her opinion. [Laughter, and cries of " Sit down."]

5th. The rules of the House of Representatives shall continue to be the rules of this Convention, in so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

The 5th rule was adopted, and on motion, the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, as amended, was adopted.

The report as amended was then adopted.

The PRESIDENT : The chair is informed that the Committee on Resolutions and Platform is ready to report. [Immense applause.]

Judge JESSUP, of Pennsylvania : The Committee on Platform and Resolutions have directed me to say to the Convention, that these resolutions have been adopted with great unanimity, there being upon one or two of the resolutions some dissenting voices on the committee. The greater portion of the resolutions were adopted with entire unanimity in the committee.

THE PLATFORM.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations :

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions ; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states must and shall be preserved. [Applause.]

3. That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development

of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country, that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion, so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Le-compton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas: in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress, and of the federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the federal government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent start-

ling developments of frauds and corruptions at the federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma, that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with cotemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom. That as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law," it becomes our duty by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent re-opening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their federal governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should of right, be immediately admitted as a state, under the Constitution recently formed and

adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts, as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country ; and we commend that policy of national exchanges, which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy, which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty ; and we demand the passage, by Congress, of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any state legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired ; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress, for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country ; that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction ; and that as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however

differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

Mr. CARTER: Mr. Chairman—That report is so eminently unexceptionable from beginning to end, and so eloquently carries through with it its own vindication, that I do not believe the Convention will desire discussion upon it, and I therefore call the previous question on it. [Applause, and mingled cries of “Good, good,” and “No, no.”]

Mr. GIDDINGS, of Ohio: I rise, sir, solemnly to appeal to my friend—[Great confusion; cries of “Withdraw the previous question.” A Voice: “Nobody wants to speak, but we don’t want to be choked off,” &c.]

Mr. CARTER: I insist upon the previous question.

Mr. GIDDINGS: I rise, and I believe I have the right, with the leave of my colleague, to offer a short amendment before the previous question is called.

Mr. CARTER: I did it to cut you off, and all other amendments, and all discussion. [Great confusion, and cries of “Giddings,” by the audience.]

A DELEGATE at the south end of the platform: The resolutions have not been distributed among the members yet, and will the gentleman ask us to vote upon a party platform we have not seen?

Mr. CARTER: I insist upon the previous question. They can read it by copy. It’s printed.

Mr. GIDDINGS: Would it be in order for me to say that I request my friend to withdraw the previous question, that I may offer an amendment?

A DELEGATE from Maine: I rise to a point of order. Is the motion of the gentleman from Ohio seconded? [“Yes, yes, yes.”]

Mr. ANDREW, of Massachusetts : I rise to a point of order. The motion of the gentleman from Ohio is not in order, for the reason that this Convention have already passed a rule that the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall make their report in print, and that printed report has not been received by this Convention.

The PRESIDENT : We will have that resolution read.

Mr. CARTER : There is no such rule.

The PRESIDENT : Will gentlemen give their attention? The Chair will state the position of the question. The Committee on Platform and Resolutions have presented a report which has been read by the chairman. Upon the question of acceptance of that report, Mr. Carter, of Ohio, demands the previous question. Pending that demand, Mr. Andrew, of Massachusetts, raises a question of order that it is not in order to demand the previous question, because the Convention has adopted a standing rule that before acting upon that report, the report should be printed and presented to the Convention. Upon examining the record, the Chair rules that there is no such rule. It was an independent motion made by Mr. Kaufmann, of Pennsylvania.

Much confusion was here caused by the anxiety of delegates and the crowd in the wigwam to obtain copies of the platform, which by this time had been brought into the hall and were being distributed.

The PRESIDENT : The question is on the demand of Mr. Carter for the previous question.

Mr. TRACY, of California : I hope, as a member of the Committee on Resolutions and Platform, and as one of the sub-committee that drafted these resolutions, that the previous question will not be sustained.

The PRESIDENT : It certainly is not a debatable matter.

Mr. TRACY : I know it is not debatable, I only expressed a hope.

Mr. GIDDINGS: I desire my colleague to withdraw the call for the previous question.

Mr. CARTER: It has got to be voted down or it has to be voted up.

The PRESIDENT: Is there a second for the call of the previous question?

VOICES: "Yes."

Motion for the previous question was submitted and declared to be lost.

Mr. CARTER: I call for a division on that question and a vote by States.

The PRESIDENT: It was voted down 3 to 1.

Mr. CARTER: I don't understand it so. I call for a division.

A DELEGATE: I rise to a point of order. It is too late to call for a division after the question is decided.

Mr. CARTER: It is not. You can't call for it before.

The PRESIDENT then submitted the question. The roll of States was called with the following result:

STATES.	AYES.	NOES.
Maine, ...	1	14
New Hampshire, ...		10
Vermont, ...		10
Massachusetts, ...	4	21
Rhode Island, ...		8
Connecticut, ...	1	11
New York, ...	25	45
New Jersey, ...	12½	1½
Pennsylvania, ...	½	53½
Maryland, ...		11
Delaware, ...	4	2
Virginia, ...	17	6
Kentucky, ...	10	10

STATES.	AYES.	NOES.
Ohio, ...	24	18
Indiana, ...	20	6
Missouri, ...		18
Michigan, ...	8	4
Illinois, ...	14	8
Texas, ...		6
Wisconsin, ...	8	2
Iowa, ...	2	6
California, ...		8
Minnesota, ...		8
Oregon, ...	2	2
TERRITORIES.		
Kansas, ...		6
Nebraska, ...	2	4
District of Columbia, ...		2
	155	301

California being called,

Mr. TRACY: California believes in free speech and free men, and votes 8 against the previous question.

Ohio being called,

Mr. CARTER: Coming from Ohio, a State where free speech is not allowed, she votes 24 ayes and 18 nays.

The PRESIDENT announced the previous question not sustained.

Mr. GIDDINGS, of Ohio, took the floor.

Gov. REEDER: I ask the gentleman if he will give way while we take up these resolutions singly?

VOICES: "No, no."

Mr. GIDDINGS: Mr. President, I propose to offer, after the first resolution as it stands here, as a declaration of principles, the following:

"That we solemnly re-assert the self-evident truths that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable

rights, among which are those of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness [Cheers]; that governments are instituted among men to secure the enjoyment of these rights."

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio, [Interrupting]: Mr. President, I—

Mr. GIDDINGS: My colleague will ask no favors of me, I take it. [Applause.] I will detain the Convention but a moment. Two hundred years ago the philosophers of Europe declared to the world that human governments were based upon human rights, and all Christian writers have sustained that doctrine until the meeting of this Convention. Our fathers were impressed with this all-permeating truth, that right of every human being to live and enjoy that liberty, which enables him to obtain knowledge and pursue happiness, and no man has the power to withhold it from him. [Prolonged cheers.] Our fathers, impressed with this solemn truth, laid it down as the chief corner stone, the basis upon which this Federal Government was founded. By consent of all parties, the Supreme Court included, these were the permeating, life-giving, vitalizing principles of the Constitution. It is because these principles have been overturned, denied and prostrated by our opponents, that we now exist as a party. [Cheers.] At Philadelphia we proposed and propounded this issue to our opponents. We called on them to meet it. They have not met it. They put forward the Supreme Court to meet it. That court denied those principles, but the Democratic party to this day dare not meet them; and through the campaign, and for four years, no Democrat has stood before the world denying that truth, nor will they deny them. Now I propose to maintain the doctrines of our fathers. I propose to maintain the fundamental and primal issues upon which the government was founded. I will detain this Convention no longer. I offer this because our party was formed upon it. It grew upon it. It has existed upon it, and when you leave out this truth you leave out the party. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. CARTER: After this display of argument, I call for the reading of clause second in the report of committee.

Mr. LOWRY, of Pennsylvania: I rise to a question of order. We have upon our journal a resolution that all matters that come up by resolution, should be referred to the committee appointed for that purpose, without debate. I therefore call upon the President of this Convention now to enforce this rule.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair is of the opinion that this proposition does not come within the principle of the rule that the gentleman alludes to.

Mr. LOWRY: Then, Mr. President—

Mr. CARTER: I wish simply to read in reply to this—

Mr. LOWRY: Mr. President, I move that the report of the committee as prepared and presented be adopted.

The PRESIDENT: The gentleman is out of order. He has not got the floor.

Mr. CARTER: The only reply I wish to make on this amendment and the gas expended on it, is in the second clause of the report, which reads as follows: "That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved."

Mr. THAYER, of Oregon: I agree with the venerable delegate from Ohio, Mr. Giddings, in all that he has affirmed to this Convention, concerning the principles of the Declaration of Independence. There are also many other truths that are enunciated in that Declaration of Independence—truths of science—truths of physical science, of mental and moral science—truths of government, and great religious truths; but it is not the business, I think, of this Convention, at least

it is not the purpose of the Republican party, to embrace in its platform all the truths that the world in all its past history has recognized. [Applause.] Mr. President, I believe in the ten commandments, but I do not want them in a political platform.

Mr. TRACY, of California: I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Resolutions and Platform.

The PRESIDENT: The motion is out of order.

Mr. STONE, of Iowa: I move that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio be laid upon the table.

The PRESIDENT: That is out of order. It will take the whole with it. The question must be on the adoption of the amendment.

The motion of Mr. Giddings to amend was put to vote and lost.

Mr. WILMOT, of Pennsylvania: I move that the platform be adopted by sections. [Cries of "no," and "take them in a lot," &c.] I have an amendment to offer, which I believe will commend itself to the good sense of every gentleman here. The amendment is this, in the 14th section we say, "that the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any *State legislation* by which the rights of citizenship, hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands, shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad." My amendment is to strike out the words "State legislation," because it conflicts directly with the doctrine in the 4th section, which reads thus:

"That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment, exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends;

and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

The section would then read : " That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired."

Judge GOODRICH, of Minnesota : I desire to say one word touching the proposed amendment by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Wilmot. It is this. He asked to strike out a certain portion of the resolution now under consideration, for the reason, as he alleges, that it conflicts with State rights. I here say to the gentleman, and to this Convention, that the State of Pennsylvania, or any other State in this confederacy, possesses not a particle of right—a particle of power under the Constitution to enact or modify any naturalization law. The Constitution says that " Congress shall have power to pass a uniform rule of naturalization ; " and the Supreme Court have declared on solemn adjudication that no State legislature possesses the power, in any manner whatever, to modify, infract or repeal the constitutional action of the federal legislation upon that subject. I hope then that the gentleman will withdraw his motion to amend.

Judge JESSUP, of Pennsylvania, the Chairman of the Committee on Platform : The reason why these words were inserted in that resolution, I will state. I desire briefly to state to the Convention that the naturalization laws are producing a state of deep feeling among a large number of the Republican party. A great many Republicans are of foreign birth, and they have felt that it was due to them that the Republican party should affirm, first, that they do not desire to interfere with the present existing naturalization laws ; secondly, that they as a party do not approve of the change of the naturalization laws by the several States, and that they do not approve of that legislation which goes to impair the rights which the naturalization laws of the Union give to natural-

ized citizens. That, Mr. President, was what was intended by the words which are now proposed to be stricken out. I state, therefore, that it is not proposed to interfere with State rights. It is not proposed, nor does it in the least conflict with any principle, if it be looked at properly, before established in these resolutions. It simply affirms that the Republican party is "opposed to any change in the naturalization laws, or any legislation—State legislation—by which the rights of citizens, hitherto afforded to emigrants from foreign lands, shall be abridged or impaired." Now I wish to know if my colleague from Pennsylvania affirms that he is ready to permit, with his consent, the State legislatures to impair the rights that are guaranteed, under our laws, to emigrants becoming citizens. I think it is a misapprehension on the part of my colleague, of the true intent and import of this resolution. I trust if he looks at it again, he will withdraw his amendment.

Mr. WILMOT, of Pennsylvania: I do not know but I misapprehend this clause. The declaration here reads thus:

"That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, by which the rights of citizenship hitherto afforded to emigrants from foreign lands, shall be abridged or impaired."

Now, my amendment was to strike out "or any State legislation." My idea was this (and you may judge whether I was correct or not), that it conflicted with the fourth resolution which declares:

"That the maintaining inviolate of the rights of the States, especially of each State, to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively is essential to that balance of power," &c.

That is a broad declaration of State rights—a just declaration of State rights; and under that, if any State in this Union has a perfect power to prescribe the qualifications of voters, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, or any other State may, to-morrow, if it sees fit, by a change of her constitution, not

only impair the right of foreign citizens, but may modify and impair the rights invested in native born citizens. She may change her constitution and provide that a residence of two years shall be required to entitle a man to vote. That was the old constitution of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania may go back; she may require that any person coming from a foreign land, or from another State, shall not vote until he has been a resident two years; and on the doctrine of State rights has she not a right to do it—and who has a right to complain? But as there seems to be a doubt or misunderstanding—and it has been explained to me here that they do not controvert the right of the State thus to modify the rights of foreign or native citizens, but merely wish to make the declaration that the Republican party, as a party, is opposed to it, as that is the object I agree to it, and in that view I am willing to withdraw my amendment. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. CARL SCHURZ, of Wisconsin: As the amendment is withdrawn by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, I find it hardly necessary to address the Convention upon this subject. I wish that this resolution would be passed without opposition. The German Republicans of the Northern States have given you 300,000 votes [Applause], and I wish that they should find it consistent with their honor and their safety to give you 300,000 more. [Increased applause.] A paragraph like this would never have been asked for by the German Republicans if one occurrence had not taken place. The year of 1856 was the era of good feelings—we all joined together in a common cause, and we all fought the common enemy. We did so with honor to ourselves, and with confidence in each other. There was no German Republican, I believe, who would have asked for anything more in the Philadelphia platform but the resolution which is there. But, since it has been found that that resolution is not sufficient to protect them from infringement upon their rights in the States, I will tell you how they reason. They said our rights may be guaranteed to us in a national platform by a general

sentence, and nevertheless the legislatures of the different States may defeat the very purpose for which that national platform was enacted. Of what use, then, is a plank in a platform if its purpose thus can be frustrated by an action of a State legislature? It has been very well said that it was not the purpose of this resolution to declare that no State has the right to regulate the suffrage of its citizens by legislative enactment, but it was the purpose to declare that the Republican party, in its national capacity, is opposed to any such thing in principle, and as such condemns it. [Renewed applause.] Gentlemen, the question is simply this, on one side there stands prejudice, on the other side there stands right.

You go to calculate, will prejudice give us more votes or will right give us more votes. [Applause continued.] Let me tell you one thing, that the votes you get by truckling to the prejudices of people will never be safe; while those votes which you get by recognizing constitutional rights may every time be counted upon. [Immense applause.] Why, gentlemen, the German Republicans of the Northern States have been not only among the most faithful, but we have been among the most unselfish members of the Republican party. We never come to you asking for any favors; we never come to you with any pretensions, the only thing we ask of you is this: that we shall be permitted to fight for our common cause; that we shall be permitted to fight in your ranks with confidence in your principles and with honor to ourselves. [Great cheering.]

Mr. FREDRICK HASSAUREK, of Ohio: [Applause]—Gentlemen of the Convention, I am not going to detain you for any length of time in support of the motion now before the Convention, but I am in favor, gentlemen, of the adoption of this resolution; not because I am an adopted citizen, but because I claim to be a true American. [Cheers.] Gentlemen, I claim to be an American, although I happened to be born on the other side of the Atlantic ocean. [Renewed applause.]

I hailed true Americanism before my foot had ever stepped on American soil. [Applause.] I loved this country before my eyes had ever beheld its hospitable shores. I had sworn allegiance to the spirit of its free institutions years before I made the formal declarations of loyalty. [Enthusiastic cheers.] Gentlemen, I felt the spirit of true Americanism thrill my heart when, as a boy in school, I first read of the heroic deeds of the immortal Washington. [Great and prolonged applause.] I hailed true Americanism when I first heard of the great Jefferson, who upon the altar of God, had sworn eternal hostility to tyranny in every form. [Renewed applause.] Gentlemen, as one who has suffered the stings and oppressions of despotism, I claim to be doubly capable of appreciating the blessings of liberty. [Loud cheers.] Gentlemen, I have seen the nations of Europe smarting under the arbitrary rule of despots, and I know what an inestimable treasure, what an incalculable boon freedom is to man. It is, therefore, one of the proudest moments of my life, to avail myself of this opportunity, as a representative of the liberty-loving Germans of the free west, before this vast assemblage of so many of the best and true men of the nation, loudly to proclaim my undying and unfaltering love and adherence to the principles of true Americanism. [Great applause.] Gentlemen, if it is Americanism to believe, religiously to believe, in those eternal truths announced in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born equal and free, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, I am proud to be an American. [Applause.] If it is Americanism firmly to believe and warmly to cherish the memory of the Fathers of the Republic, and forever to maintain the faith and perpetuate the glorious inheritance which they have left to an admiring posterity, I shall ever be an American. [Loud cheers.] If it is Americanism, gentlemen, to believe that governments are instituted for the benefit of the governed, and not for the benefit of the privileged few—if it is Americanism to believe that this glorious federation of sovereign states has a higher object and

a nobler purpose than to be the mere means of fortifying, protecting and propagating the institution of human servitude—if it is Americanism to believe that these vast fertile territories of the west are forever consecrated to freedom, and to remain as free homes for free labor and free men, I shall live and die an American. [Tremendous cheering.] Gentlemen, if it is Americanism to believe that the American Constitution, as framed by the fathers was designed as a bulwark of freedom, and intended to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity, and that it does not of its own force carry slavery into the territories of the United States, but, on the contrary, means freedom and justice wherever it goes, I shall ever claim to be an American. [Great applause.] And, Mr. President, for this reason I am in favor of the adoption of the resolution—not because I claim to be an adopted citizen, but because I claim, and shall claim to the end that I am an American—an American by choice; not an American by birth, it is true, but an American from sentiment and from principle. Gentlemen, I hope this resolution will pass without objection from any side. There are more than 20,000 Republican German votes in the State of Ohio alone, and they shall be cast in a solid phalanx for the candidate who is to be nominated by this Convention. [Renewed applause.]

Mr. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, of New York : What is the question before the house ?

The PRESIDENT : It is upon the adoption of the report.

Mr. CURTIS : I then offer as an amendment to the report, as presented by the committee, the following : That the second clause of the report shall read, “ That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution ;” and then, sir, I propose to amend by adding these words : “ That all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these

rights, governments are instituted amongst men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"—then proceed—"is essential to the preservation of our Republican Institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states, must and shall be preserved." [Great applause, and many gentlemen struggling for the floor.]

Mr. THAYER: Has not that amendment once been voted down?

Mr. CARTER: I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDENT: There is one question of order already. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Curtis, moves to amend this second resolution in the words which he has read. The gentleman from Oregon, Mr. Thayer, raises the question of order that this is substantially the same proposition already voted upon; and the Chair sustains the question of order, and the question recurs on the adoption of the report.

Mr. BLAIR, of Missouri: If it is necessary, I shall appeal from the decision of the Chair. The amendment which was first offered was to the first clause or section, and the amendment offered now by the gentleman from New York is to the second section, and it is an entirely different question. I think if it is necessary I am ready to take an appeal from the decision of the Chair.

The PRESIDENT: I took it from the statement of the gentleman from New York, that he offered the same amendment offered before by Mr. Giddings, and voted on.

Mr. BLAIR: It is offered now as an amendment to the second; then it was to the first resolution.

The PRESIDENT: Then the amendment is in order.

Mr. CURTIS: Have I the floor?

The PRESIDENT: Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS, (from his chair) : Mr. President, I have a word to say on that amendment. [Cries of "Take the stand."] I can speak as well, gentlemen, from this seat. I have to ask this Convention—the second National Convention the Republican party has ever held—I have to ask this Convention whether they are prepared to go upon the record and before the country as voting down the words of the Declaration of Independence. [Cries of "No, no," and applause.] I have, sir, in the amendment which I have introduced, quoted simply and only from the Declaration of Independence. Bear in mind that in Philadelphia, in 1856, the Convention of this same great party were not afraid to announce those by which alone the Republican party lives, and upon which alone the future of this country in the hands of the Republican party is possible. [Tremendous cheering.] Now, sir, I ask gentlemen gravely to consider that in the amendment which I have proposed, I have uttered nothing that the soundest and safest man in all the land might not do ; and I rise simply—for I am now sitting down—to ask gentlemen to think well before, upon the free prairies of the West, in the summer of 1860, they dare to wince and quail before the men who, in Philadelphia in 1776—in Philadelphia, in the Arch-Keystone State, so amply, so nobly represented upon this platform to-day—before they dare to shrink from repeating the words that these great men enunciated. [Terrific applause.]

Mr. OYLER, of Indiana : I presume that all the Republicans are in favor of the Declaration of Independence. Does it necessarily follow that we must publish it in our platform? [Voices : "Yes."] I want to talk to the delegates here. I ask the question if it is necessary to put it in? They answer me it is. Well, then, it is there now. [Voices : "No."] Read for yourselves the second resolution. [A voice : "Put it in twice."] I will read it to you :

"That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Repub-

lican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States must and shall be preserved."

Does not that indorse it? We believe in the Bible; shall we put it in from the first chapter of Genesis to the last chapter of Revelations? We believe in the Constitution of the United States; shall we put it in from first to last? I say no. I say it is enough for us to assert a belief in, and our confidence in, and firm reliance upon, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Mr. NYE, of New York: I want, sir, something done in this Convention. [Cries of "Vote."] I am only anxious, sir, that something should be done in this Convention to mark with great distinctness and in unmistakable terms, that we indorse that language, and that portion of the language of the Declaration of Independence that is moved as an amendment to the second resolution. [Cheers and voices, "You shall have it," "We will," "You shall have it if you say no more about it."] That, sir, is all I want. I am exceedingly glad that simply the fear of a speech from me should induce gentlemen to vote in that way. [Laughter and applause.]

The question being on the amendment offered by Mr. Curtis, of New York, the vote was taken and the amendment adopted.

The question now recurring on the adoption of the report of the committee, the platform was adopted unanimously with a shout of applause.

Upon the adoption of the platform, the delegates and the whole of the vast audience rose to their feet in a transport of enthusiasm, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs and the gentlemen their hats, while for many minutes the tremendous cheers and shouts of applause continued, and again and again were renewed and repeated.

Mr. GOODRICH: I move that we adjourn. [Cries of "No, no," "Ballot, ballot."] I withdraw the motion, and move

that we now proceed to ballot for a candidate for the Presidency.

Mr. EGGLESTON : I renew the motion to adjourn,
The motion to adjourn was put and lost.

Mr. R. M. CORWINE : I move that we now proceed to ballot for a candidate for President. [Great disorder, and cries of "Ballot, ballot."]

Mr. CARTER : I call for a division by ayes and nays, to see if gentlemen want to go without their supper. [Derisive laughter, and cries of "Call the roll."]

On motion, the Convention then adjourned to Friday at 10 o'clock.

THIRD DAY.

The Convention re-assembled at 10 o'clock, agreeably to adjournment.

After the delegates had seated themselves, the proceedings were opened by the following prayer, by Rev. M. GREEN, of Chicago :

Our Lord, our God, we adore Thee as the eternal, immortal, invisible, and only true God. Every excellence adorns Thy nature ; every attribute of majesty supports Thy throne. Thou art our God, and we will praise Thee ; our fathers' God, and we will exalt thee. We thank Thee, O Lord, for the numberless kindnesses which Thou hast manifested towards this people, in their origin, in their deliverance from subsequent evils which have threatened them, and for the high degree of prosperity which we still enjoy. O God, forbid that we, their descendants, should be unworthy of our sires, who acknowledged Thee in their ways, and invoked Thy benediction upon their efforts to establish a free government. Lord, we entreat Thee, who hast delivered us from external enemies,

to protect us from intestine evil. Oh! do Thou, infinite disposer of events, perpetuate our liberties. And now we thank Thee that Thou hast permitted these delegates of the people to assemble, and so far to pursue their object with such harmony and mutual respect. We pray Thee, still to clothe Thy servant, the President of this body, with the authority requisite for his exalted post, and we entreat Thee to bring to a happy result the labors of this body of representatives of the people. O, we entreat Thee, that at some future but not distant day, the evils which now invest the body politic shall not only have been arrested in their progress, but wholly eradicated from the system. And may the pen of the historian trace an intimate connection between that glorious consummation and the transactions of this Convention. O Lord, our God, Thou art in Heaven and on earth, therefore should our words be few. Our prayer is now before Thee. Wilt Thou hear, accept and answer it, for the sake of our Redeemer. Amen.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen of the Convention—The Chair feels it his duty this morning to appeal, not merely to the gentlemen of the Convention, but to every individual of this vast audience, to remember the utmost importance of keeping and preserving, during the entire session, as much silence as possible; and he asks gentlemen who are not members of this Convention, in the name of this Convention, that they will, to the utmost of their ability, refrain from any demonstrations of applause that may disturb the proceedings of the Convention. I should suggest to the delegates that they themselves set the example to their friends who are not of this Convention; that each will, to the utmost of his individual capacity, co-operate with the Chair in keeping entire order.

The Chair has received some communications which he will lay before the Convention.

The SECRETARY read the communications, as follows :

CHICAGO, *May* 18, 1860.

HON. GEORGE ASHMUN, President of the National Convention, Chicago.

Dear Sir: The delegates of the Convention are invited to an excursion, on Monday next, over the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad, to Dubuque, thence down the Mississippi river to Fulton or Clinton, from which place they can return to Chicago on Tuesday evening, or extend their excursion to Cedar Rapids, over the Chicago, Iowa and Nebraska Railroad, and return on Wednesday evening in time to connect with Eastern trains.

Very respectfully, yours,

E. B. TALCOTT,

General Superintendent.

A DELEGATE: I move that it lie on the table for the present.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair has received another communication, which will be read :

NEW YORK. *April* 20.

TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION:

At a meeting of the representatives of the working men of the different wards of this city, Brooklyn, Williamsburgh and Greenpoint, held on the evening of the 16th inst., at Union Hall, 195 Bowery, it was

Resolved, That the officers of the meeting be instructed to address the Republican National Convention, to assemble at Chicago, and respectfully request the Convention to declare itself opposed to all further traffic in the public lands of the United States, and in favor of laying them out in farms and lots for the free and exclusive use of actual settlers.

We see this singular condition of affairs, that while wealth in our own country is rapidly accumulating; while internal improvements of every description are fast increasing, and while machinery is multiplying the powers of production to an immense extent, yet with all these advantages the compensation

for useful labor is getting less and less. We seek the cause of this anomaly, and we trace it to the monopoly of the land, with labor at the mercy of capital. We therefore desire to abolish the monopoly, not by interfering with the conventional rights of persons now in possession, but by arresting the further sale of all land not yet appropriated as private property, and by allowing those lands hereafter to be freely occupied by those who may choose to settle on them. We propose that the public land hereafter shall not be owned, but occupied only. The occupant having the right to sell or dispose of his or her improvements to any one not in possession of other lands, so that by preventing individuals from becoming possessed of more than a limited quantity, every one may enjoy the right.

Respectfully yours,

HENRY BENING, *Chairman.*

The PRESIDENT: The Chair would suggest that the Committee on Platform and Resolutions having reported, and their report covering the subject matter of this resolution, that the communication lie on the table.

The suggestion was assented to.

The CHAIR: At the adjournment, a motion was pending, made by Mr. Goodrich, of Minnesota, that the Convention do now proceed to ballot for a candidate for President of the United States. [Applause.] That motion is the business first in order. [Cries of "Question, question."]

Mr. M. BLAIR, of Maryland: Before the vote is taken upon that question, I wish to ask leave to file the credentials of additional delegates to fill up the delegation from the State of Maryland. This is made necessary by the resolution or rule adopted yesterday by the Convention, which provided that the votes of the delegation from each State should be confined to the number of delegates present. The delegation from Maryland not being full, it became necessary, under that rule, in order to cast the full vote of the State, that the delegation

should be filled. At a meeting held last evening, the delegation was filled, in pursuance of the authority given us by the State Convention of Maryland, which we represent upon this floor. I therefore offer the credentials of five additional delegates, now present in their seats, completing the delegation. [Cries of "Leave, leave."]

The CHAIR: No objection being made they will be received.

Mr. SARGENT, of California: The ratio of representation, as at present constituted, gives to Maryland eleven votes. I wish to inquire if the effect of receiving these credentials is to increase the number of votes to sixteen, or twice the number of her electoral vote, or if that vote is still simply eleven? If it is merely to receiving these gentlemen upon this floor to advise with the Maryland delegation, there can be no objection to the increase—letting the Maryland delegation stand on the same footing as now; but if it is proposed to increase their vote in this Convention, I certainly shall oppose it. If it is proposed now to increase the vote cast by that or any other State, I object. It seems to me that this matter was fully considered by the Committee on Credentials, voted on by the Convention, when they received the report of that committee; their report is before the Convention, having been received; and before the vote of any State or Territory is increased, it seems to me that the matter ought to go back to the committee, and they should investigate the matter, and understand by what authority this increase is made. I therefore ask for information, whether the effect of this proposition is to increase the vote of Maryland, or to increase the number of persons who will cast the vote already determined upon? If I am right in supposing that it is to increase their vote, I shall oppose it.

Mr. COALE, of Maryland: I will answer the gentleman. We came here with a full delegation elected. We had to come some distance to get here, and we found when we formed that

there were only eleven gentlemen present. And so I, as a member of the Committee on Elections, handed in eleven names, because there were only eleven of us present. I stated, at the same time, that there was a full delegation elected, and that we had full power from our constituents to fill up all vacancies. We had the power and we had the right, but we deemed it improper and immodest in us to come forward at first and claim to cast the vote of the whole delegation until we found Marylanders enough were present, ready and willing to take their places with us. Our delegation then held a meeting, and according to the right that has been exercised by every other delegation, and the authority given to us by our constituents, we filled the vacancies; and the gentlemen are here present. Shall we be thrown out now? Shall we be told that we are not to have the privileges of other delegations? That we are forbidden to do that which we are authorized to do, and which has been done by others? I have no idea that such illiberality will be extended to us.

Mr. SARGENT, of California: By the report of the committee, Maryland is entitled to cast eight votes. The question is now whether Maryland proposes to cast any beyond the eight votes?

Mr. COALE, of Maryland: No, sir. We have six congressional districts, and we have six votes in virtue of these districts, and we have two Senators, making eight, and to cast the full vote we double that number, making sixteen. In that way we would vote according to the same ratio with the other delegations. ["That's right, that's right."]

The PRESIDENT: The Chair understands, that on yesterday the Convention adopted a report of Committee on Credentials, declaring Maryland entitled to eleven delegates, to cast eight votes; and understood, also, that proposition made this morning, if adopted and ratified by the Convention, will give the power to sixteen gentlemen to cast eight votes—the same number precisely as before.

Mr. M. BLAIR, of Maryland: The Committee on Credentials reported that the delegates present should cast the vote of the State. Our State is entitled, on this floor, to sixteen delegates. While that report was before the Convention, and before the vote was taken on it, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. Goodrich) offered an amendment which limited the vote of the State to the delegates present, and that made it incumbent upon us, in order to cast the vote of the State, to fill up the delegation. That is the explanation, gentlemen, why we did not fill it up when we first came here. The body has before allowed the delegates to cast the vote of the State, whether more or less were present. Under the resolution adopted at the instance of the gentleman from Minnesota, we are deprived of casting the full vote of the State. Now, we ask, in pursuance of the authority given us by the State Convention of Maryland, to fill up our delegation, and be able to cast the whole vote of the State of Maryland. I have not heard any gentleman object to our proposition to cast the full vote.

Mr. BENTON, of New Hampshire, the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials: It was proposed to limit the number of votes to the number of delegates actually present. This was agreed to not only in reference to the State of Maryland, but Virginia, Kentucky, Oregon and Texas. It was discussed in committee, and it was finally agreed that this State should be allowed to cast eleven votes. After the committee adjourned, one gentleman appeared and asked to be allowed to appear on the floor and vote. I told him it was too late. It was generally understood, and it was acted upon by almost unanimous consent, that the States which were not fully represented should claim no more votes in the Convention than there were delegates actually present, either real or substituted delegates.

Mr. ARMOUR, of Maryland: As one of the delegates from the State of Maryland, I object to the credentials being re-

ceived. ["Louder."] This is a matter of business, and is not for outsiders. [A voice: "We ain't outsiders."] I say that there are only eleven of us here, of the sixteen appointed by our State Convention. The Committee on Credentials reported that fact. Since the adjournment of the Convention—

A VOICE: "If you will take stand this side of the house, we can hear you. We cannot hear you now."

Mr. ARMOUR (taking the stand): I have a reason, as one of the delegates from the State of Maryland, to enter my solemn protest against the reception of the credentials as filled up. We met in the city of Baltimore and appointed eight delegates and eight alternates. But eleven of us are here. Eleven names were yesterday presented to the Committee on Credentials, and the Committee on Credentials made their report, and reported us eleven present and entitled to eight votes. Since the adjournment of the Convention on yesterday, a portion of my co-delegates—I am not here to impugn their motives, nor do I intend to do so—a portion of them met without my knowledge, without the knowledge of at least one more, and perhaps two more of the delegates, and have filled up our delegation from gentlemen, God Almighty only knows where they live. [Applause and laughter.] I do not wish to place myself in an attitude hostile to a majority of my delegation, I do not wish to throw any embarrassment in the way of the peaceful settlement of all the business that has brought us together, but I wish to say that there is a gentleman here from Maryland who has been knocking at the door of this Convention, but who has not been received; my co-delegates have refused to fill up the delegation with his name, and have, for purposes known only to themselves, filled it up with outsiders. For this reason, for the reason that the delegation has been made full by placing upon it the names of men unknown to me, by placing upon it the names of non-residents of the State of Maryland, and because I had no knowledge that this meeting was coming together, because I have not co-operated in this movement, because I do

not know the purpose for which this delegation has been filled up, and because I think we should not pretend to present in this Convention, a stronger front than that which we possess. We have eleven men here, and we should only vote our eight votes. I hope, gentlemen of the Convention, you will vote this down. [Applause and cries for the question.]

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio: I call for the previous question.

Previous question sustained, and the additional motion to receive the delegates was lost.

Mr. EVARTS, of New York: Mr. Chairman, as the Convention has by its vote decided to proceed to a ballot, you may be assured that I do not rise for the purpose of making a speech. I rise simply to ask, sir, whether it is in order to present names in nomination?

The PRESIDENT: The Chair is of the opinion that under the execution of the order adopted, it may be in order to put in nomination such persons as the Convention may desire, without debate.

Mr. EVARTS: I rise——

A Voice—The Pennsylvania delegation is not provided with seats. [Voices—“Get them in quick.”]

The PRESIDENT: I will take this opportunity to present a communication received by the Chair.

The SECRETARY reads:

CHICAGO, *May* 18, 1860.

We feel it our duty to inform you that members of your Convention pass their tickets over the railings and through the windows to their friends who are not entitled to seats. If the Convention find inconvenience, it is the fault of the members and not through our interference. Any instructions you think proper to give will be strictly carried out.

PETER PAGE,
GURDON S. HUBBARD,
CHAS. N. HOLDEN.

The PRESIDENT : The Chair knows of a no more practical way than to ask each delegation to insist that no person except their delegates shall occupy their seats. If they will do that with rigor every delegate in the room will be accommodated.

Mr. WYSE, of the District of Columbia, called the attention of the Chair to some mistake in the printed list of delegates.

The PRESIDENT stated that he understood the error had been corrected.

Mr. EVARTS, of New York : In the order of business before the Convention, sir, I take the liberty to name as a candidate to be nominated by this Convention for the office of President of the United States, William H. Seward. [Prolonged applause and cheers.]

Mr. JUDD, of Illinois : I desire on behalf of the delegation from Illinois, to put in nomination, as a candidate for President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. [Immense applause and cheers.]

Mr. DUDLEY, of New Jersey : Mr. President, New Jersey presents the name of Wm. L. Dayton. [Applause.]

Gov. REEDER, of Pennsylvania : Pennsylvania nominates as her candidate for the Presidency General Simon Cameron. [Cheers.]

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio : Ohio presents to the consideration of this Convention, as a candidate for President, the name of Salmon P. Chase. [Applause and cheers.]

Mr. C. B. SMITH, of Indiana : I desire, on behalf of the delegation from Indiana, to second the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. [Tremendous applause.]

Mr. BLAIR, of Missouri : I am commissioned by the representatives of the State of Missouri to present to this Convention the name of Edward Bates as a candidate for the Presidency. [Applause and cheers.]

Mr. AUSTIN BLAIR, of Michigan : In behalf of the delegation from the Michigan I second the nomination for President of the United States, of William H. Seward. [Immense applause and cheers.]

Mr. THOMAS CORWIN, of Ohio : I rise, Mr. President, at the request of many gentlemen, part of them members of this Convention, and many of them of the most respectable gentlemen known to the history of this country and its politics, to present the name of John McLean. [Applause.]

Mr. SCHURZ, of Wisconsin : I am commissioned by the delegation from the State of Wisconsin, to second the nomination of William H. Seward, of New York. [Warm applause.]

Mr. NORTH, of Minnesota : I am commissioned on behalf of the delegation from Minnesota, to second the nomination of William H. Seward. [Applause.]

Mr. WILDER, of Kansas : I am commissioned, not only by the delegation from Kansas, but by the people of Kansas, to present the name of Wm. H. Seward, of New York.

Mr. DELANO, of Ohio : I rise on behalf of a portion of the delegation from Ohio, to put in nomination the man who knows how to split rails and maul democrats—Abraham Lincoln. [Great applause and laughter.]

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois : Mr. President, In order or out of order, I desire to move that this Convention, for itself and this vast audience, give three cheers for all the candidates presented by the Republican party.

The PRESIDENT : The gentleman is out of order.

A Delegate from Iowa : Mr. President, I rise in the name of two-thirds of the delegation of Iowa, again to second the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. [Great applause.]

Mr. ANDREW, of Massachusetts : I move you that we proceed to vote.

FIRST BALLOT.

STATES.	Seward.	Lincoln.	Wade.	Cameron.	Bates.	McLean.	Reed.	Chase.	Dayton.	Sumner.	Fremont.	Collamer.
Maine,.....	10	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire,....	1	7	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
Vermont,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Massachusetts,....	21	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island,.....	..	..	..	..	1	5	1	1	..	..	..	..
Connecticut,.....	..	2	1	..	7	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
New York,.....	70	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey,.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	..	..	..
Pennsylvania,.....	1½	4	..	47½	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland,.....	3	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware,.....	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia,.....	8	14	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kentucky,.....	5	6	2	..	..	1	..	8	..	1	..	..
Ohio,.....	..	8	..	..	..	4	..	34	..	..	..	..
Indiana,.....	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Missouri,.....	..	..	..	..	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan,.....	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Illinois,.....	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Texas,.....	4	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin,.....	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa,.....	2	2	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
California,.....	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota,.....	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon,.....	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TERRITORIES.												
Kansas,.....	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska,.....	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia,	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Pending the vote the following proceedings transpired :

Mr. TRACY, of California: I wish to say, as there has been one vote cast for Mr. Fremont, that he is not a candidate before this Convention.

When the State of Maryland was called, during the vote, Mr. COCHRANE, Chairman of the Delegation, said:

The Republican State Convention of Maryland having requested that the delegation should vote as a unit, I therefore, in accordance with the wishes of a majority of the delegation, cast 11 votes for Edward Bates. [Applause.]

Mr. COALE, of Maryland: I object to that. I am a freeman in Maryland, although surrounded by slavery. If I were going to look for a place to be immolated upon the altar of slavery, I should not come to Chicago. [Great confusion and cries of "order."] Well, hear my point then. We are not instructed to vote for Edward Bates. Such a resolution was presented there and was instantly voted down. [A Voice—you are not in order.] Well, my point is that we were not instructed, and that we will not act according to the recommendation except so far as we please.

Mr. ARMOUR, of Maryland: I will present the point of protestation a little clearer than my aged friend has done. [Cries of "Call the roll."]

The PRESIDENT: It is not a subject of debate. The question is, shall the Convention receive the eleven votes from the State of Maryland for Mr. Bates? and this must be decided without debate. [Voices—"Call the roll," "hear him," and great confusion.]

Mr. ARMOUR: I do not wish to debate the point. I wish to state succinctly and clearly the point of our protest. Have I leave? [Cries of "Yes," and "No."] At the Convention which assembled at Maryland, a resolution was offered instructing the delegates of the State of Maryland to vote as a unit. There was a general feeling against that resolution, and a number of gentlemen spoke against it, and I had risen to protest

against it when some gentleman in my rear moved that we be simply "recommended." Not one man in that Convention considered that "recommend" and "instruct" were synonymous terms. Not one of us considered that the recommendation was equivalent to an instruction. Therefore, we let it pass, believing then and now that we were free to cast our votes for the man of our choice, and we now claim that right on the floor of the Convention. [Cries of "Good," and applause.]

Mr. R. M. CORWINE, of Ohio: One of the rules adopted yesterday declares that the Chairman of each Delegation shall cast the vote of his delegation.

A VOICE: No, no! it says he shall "announce" it.

Mr. COALE: We will vote as we please, and we will not vote in any other way.

The Chair then stated the question.

Mr. FRANK P. BLAIR, of Missouri: I rise to a point of order. I desire to know whether this Convention is to be governed by its rules, or not? I call the attention of the President to the rule which we have adopted, and under which we must act, unless it is intended now to violate it.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair is aware of the rule. The rule adopted was, that the vote of each State should be announced by its Chairman.

A VOICE: He must but announce it and announce it truly.

The PRESIDENT: And the Chair rules that he is bound to receive the report made by the Chairman of the delegation, and announce it to the Convention as their vote, unless it is rejected by the Convention; and the Chair, not wishing to take the responsibility of settling this question, may refer it to the Convention, and the Chair now puts the question to

the Convention ; Shall the vote announced by the Chairman be received by the Convention as the vote of the State of Maryland ?

The question was decided in the negative.

At the conclusion of the voting, which occupied considerable time, the result was announced by the Secretary of the Convention, as follows :

For Wm. H. Seward, of New York,.....	173½
For Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois,.....	102
For Edward Bates, of Missouri,.....	48
For Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania,.....	50½
For John McLean, of Ohio,.....	12
For Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio,.....	49
For Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio,.....	3
For William L. Dayton, of New Jersey,.....	14
For John M. Read, of Pennsylvania,.....	1
For Jacob Collamer, of Vermont,.....	10
For Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts,.....	1
For John C. Fremont, of California,.....	1

Whole number of votes cast, 465 ; necessary to a choice, 233.

THE PRESIDENT announced that no candidate having received a majority of the whole number of votes cast, the Convention would proceed to a second ballot.

Mr. CALEB B. SMITH, of Indiana, being in the chair, the second ballot was proceeded with. It was as follows :

STATES.	Seward.	Lincoln.	Bates.	Cameron.	McLean.	Chase.	Dayton.	C. M. Clay.
Maine,.....	10	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire, ...	1	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
Vermont, ...	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts, ...	22	4	..	..	..	..	..	..

STATES.	Seward.	Lincoln.	Bates.	Cameron.	McLean.	Chase.	Dayton.	C. M. Clay.
Rhode Island,.....	..	3	..	..	2	3	..	..
Connecticut,.....	..	4	4	..	..	2	..	2
New York,.....	70	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey, ...	4	..	..	..	..	..	10	..
Pennsylvania, ...	2½	48	..	1	2½	..	..	..
Maryland,.....	3	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware,.....	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia,.....	8	14	..	1	..	..	..	..
Kentucky, ...	7	9	..	..	..	6	..	..
Ohio,.....	..	14	..	..	2	29	..	..
Indiana, ...	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Missouri,.....	..	..	18	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan, ...	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Illinois, ...	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..
Texas,.....	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin, ...	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa, ...	2	5	..	..	½	½	..	..
California, ...	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota, ...	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon,.....	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
TERRITORIES.								
Kansas, ...	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska, ...	3	1	..	..	..	2	..	..
District of Columbia,	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

After the vote was taken, and before it was announced—

Gov. REEDER, of Pennsylvania, said: I desire to state that while the vote was going on, and after that vote was given, the name of Gen. Cameron was withdrawn. I now formally withdraw the name of Gen. Cameron from this Convention as a candidate for nomination.

The SECRETARY announced the result of the second ballot as follows:

For WILLIAM H. SEWARD, of New York, 184½ votes. [Applause.]

For ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois, 181 votes. [Tremendous applause, checked by the Speaker.]

For EDWARD BATES, of Missouri, 35 votes.

For SIMON CAMERON, of Pennsylvania, 2 votes.

For JOHN McLEAN, of Ohio, 8 votes.

For SALMON P. CHASE, of Ohio, 42½ votes.

For WILLIAM L. DAYTON, of New Jersey, 10 votes.

For CASSIUS M. CLAY, of Kentucky, 2 votes.

Whole number of votes cast 465; necessary to a choice, 233.

The CHAIR announced that no candidate having received a majority of all the votes cast, there was no nomination, and the Convention would proceed to a third ballot, which was then taken, as follows :

STATES.	Seward.	Bates.	Chase.	Lincoln.	McLean.	Dayton.	C. M. Clay.
Maine,.....	10	..	..	6	..	..	..
New Hampshire, ...	1	..	..	9	..	..	..
Vermont, ...	..	..	..	10	..	..	..
Massachusetts, ...	18	..	..	8	..	..	..
Rhode Island,.....	1	..	1	5	1	..	..
Connecticut,.....	1	4	2	4	..	..	1
New York,.....	70	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey,.....	5	..	..	8	..	1	..
Pennsylvania,.....	..	..	..	52	2	..	..
Maryland,.....	2	..	..	9	..	..	..
Delaware,.....	..	..	..	6	..	..	..
Virginia,.....	8	..	..	14	..	..	..
Kentucky, ...	6	..	4	13	..	..	..
Ohio,.....	..	..	15	29	2	..	..
Indiana, ...	..	..	..	26	..	..	..
Missouri,.....	..	18	..	..	..	..	..

STATES.	Seward.	Bates.	Chase.	Lincoln.	McLean.	Dayton.	C. M. Clay.
Michigan, ...	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Illinois, ...	..	..	..	22	..	..	..
Texas, ...	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin, ...	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa, ...	2	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..
California, ...	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota, ...	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon, ...	1	..	..	4	..	..	..
TERRITORIES.							
Kansas, ...	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska, ...	3	..	2	1	..	..	..
District of Columbia, ...	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
	180	22	$24\frac{1}{2}$	$231\frac{1}{2}$	5	1	1

The progress of the ballot was watched with most intense interest, especially toward the last, the crowd becoming silent as the contest narrowed down, when, before the result was announced,

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio, said : I arise, Mr. Chairman, to announce the change of four votes of Ohio from Mr. Chase to Abraham Lincoln.

[This announcement, giving Mr. Lincoln a majority, was greeted by the audience with the most enthusiastic and thundering applause. The entire crowd rose to their feet, applauding rapturously, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs, the men waving and throwing up their hats by thousands, cheering again and again. The applause was renewed and repeated for many minutes. At last, partial silence having been restored, with many gentlemen striving to get the floor.]

Mr. EVARTS, of New York : Mr. Chairman, has the vote been declared?

The CHAIR: No, sir.

Mr. ANDREW, of Massachusetts: Mr. Chairman, I sought an opportunity some time since, and before finishing the roll-call of the states, at the direction of many of my associates of the Massachusetts delegation, to correct their vote. I am instructed to report that the vote from Massachusetts stands: For Abraham Lincoln, 18; for William H. Seward, 8. [Applause.]

Mr. McCRILLIS, of Maine: Mr. Chairman, the young giant of the West has become of age. He is 21 years old. [Loud cries of "Order!"] Maine gives her vote unanimously in favor of Lincoln. [Renewed applause.]

Gov. REEDER, of Pennsylvania: I desire to correct the vote of Pennsylvania. In the haste of taking so large a number of delegates, it was not taken as they desire, and they wish me to announce it as, for Abraham Lincoln, 53; for John McLean, $\frac{1}{2}$; for William H. Seward, $\frac{1}{2}$.

Mr. ROLLINS, of New Hampshire: I desire to correct the vote of New Hampshire. New Hampshire votes for Abraham Lincoln 10 votes. [Applause.]

Mr. EAMES, of Rhode Island: Mr. Chairman, I desire now to announce that Rhode Island casts 8 votes for Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. WELLES, of Connecticut: Mr. Chairman, I am requested to state that the vote of Connecticut is 8 for Abraham Lincoln, 2 for Salmon P. Chase — the rest as before given.

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio: I am requested, by the delegation from Ohio, to now present their unanimous vote for Abraham Lincoln; 46 votes. [Great applause.]

[At this time there was great confusion. A salute was fired without, and responded to within the wigwam by vociferous cheers. A large photograph of Mr. Lincoln was then brought

upon the platform, and the audience greeted the sight with rapturous and long continued cheering.]

Mr. BROWN, of Missouri: I am instructed to cast the entire vote of Missouri—18 votes—for that gallant son of the West, Abraham Lincoln. [Great enthusiasm.]

A DELEGATE from Iowa: I am authorized by the delegation from Iowa to change their vote, and make it unanimous for Lincoln. [Applause.]

Mr. GALLAGHER, of Kentucky: Mr. President, Kentucky came here, not to obtrude, but to sanction the expression that is now indicated, and casts a full vote for Abraham Lincoln. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. NORTH, of Minnesota: I am authorized by the delegation from Minnesota, to make it unanimous for Abraham Lincoln.

A DELEGATE from Virginia: The delegation from Virginia ask to have their full vote recorded for Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.]

Mr. TRACY, of California: I am directed by the delegation of California to change five votes in favor of Abraham Lincoln, making her vote 5 to 3. [Applause.]

Mr. FITCH, of Texas: I am authorized by the delegation of Texas to have their vote recorded for Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.]

Mr. WYSE, of the District of Columbia: I am authorized to change the vote of the District of Columbia from William H. Seward to Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. [Applause.]

Mr. WILDER, of Kansas: I am authorized by the delegation from Kansas to change her vote to the gallant disciple of the "Irrepressible Conflict," Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.]

Mr. WEBSTER, of Nebraska : Nebraska casts her unanimous vote for Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.]

A DELEGATE from Oregon : Oregon also casts her unanimous vote for Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.]

After these changes had been made the Secretary announced the result of the vote as follows :

Whole number of votes cast 466 ; necessary to a choice 234.

For Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, 364 votes.

The PRESIDENT : Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, is selected as your candidate for President of the United States. [Thunders of applause, and great confusion.]

Mr. EVARTS, Chairman of the New York Delegation, then took the stand and said,

Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Republican National Convention : The State of New York, by a full delegation, with complete unanimity of purpose at home, came to this Convention and presented to its choice one of its citizens, who had served the state from boyhood up, who had labored for and loved it. We came from a great state, with, as we thought, a great statesman [Prolonged cheers,] and our love of the Great Republic, from which we are all delegates, the great American Union, and our love of the great Republican party of the Union, and our love of our statesman and candidate, made us think that we did our duty to the country, and the whole country, in expressing our love and preference for him. [Loud cheers.] For, gentlemen, it was from Gov. Seward that most of us learned to love Republican principles and the Republican party. [Renewed cheers.] His fidelity to the country, the constitution and the laws ; his fidelity to the party and the principle that the majority govern ; his interest in the advancement of our party to its victory, that our country may rise to its true glory, induces me to assume to speak his sentiments, as I do, indeed, the opinions of our whole delegation when I move you, as I do now, that the nomination

of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, as the Republican candidate for the suffrages of the whole country for the office of Chief Magistrate of the American Union, be made unanimous. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

Several speakers then attempted to get the floor, which was accorded to Mr. ANDREW, Chairman of the Massachusetts Delegation. He said :

Mr. President, gentlemen of the National Republican Convention, and fellow citizens of the United States of America :

I am deputed by the united voice of the Massachusetts delegation to second the motion just proposed by the distinguished citizen of New York, who represents the delegation of that noble State. I second that motion, therefore, in the name of Massachusetts, that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln be made unanimous. [Loud cheers.] Gentlemen, the people of Massachusetts hold in their heart of hearts, next to their reverence and love for Christian faith, their reverence and love for the doctrine of equal and impartial liberty. [Renewed cheers.] We are Republicans, by a hundred thousand majority, of the old stamp of the Revolution. [Cheers.] We have come up here — the delegation from Massachusetts — from the ground where on Bunker's Hill the Yankees of New England met the deadly fire of Britain. We have come from Concord, where was spilled the first blood of the Revolution ; from Lexington, where their embattled farmers fired a shot that was heard around the world. We have come from Faneuil Hall, where spoke the patriots and sages, and orators of the earliest and best days of American History, where our fathers heard propounded those doctrines and principles of liberty and human equality which found their enunciation and exposition in the Constitution of Massachusetts, and by which, under judicial decision, human slavery was banished from the venerable soil of that ancient commonwealth, before the Colonies were a united people. [Cheers.] We have come from the shadows of the old South Church, where American liberty was baptized in the waters of religion. [Loud applause.] We hold the purpose firm and strong, as we have

gone through the tedious struggle of years now gone by, to rescue, before we die, the holy ark of American liberty from the grasp of the Philistines who held them. Yes, sir, whether in the majority, or without the majority of the American people, there we stand. [Enthusiastic cheers.] Whether in victory or in defeat there we stand, and, as said the Apostle, "having done all, still there we will stand, and because of our love and of our faith." The affection of our hearts and the judgment of our intellects bound our political fortunes to William Henry Seward, of New York [Cheers]; him, who is the brightest and most shining light of this political generation [Applause and cheers]; him, who by the unanimous selection of the foes of our cause and our men, has for years been the determined standard-bearer of liberty, William H. Seward. [Loud cheers.] Whether in the legislature of his native State of New York, whether as Governor of that young and growing imperial commonwealth, whether as Senator of the United States, or as a Tribune of the people, ever faithful, ever true. [Cheers.] In the thickest and the hottest of every battle there waved the white plume of the gallant leader of New York. [Cheers.] And, gentlemen, by no hand of Massachusetts was it for him to be stricken down. Dearly as we love triumph, we are used to momentary defeat, because we know we are right; and whatever storms assail our ship, before whatever gales she may reel and quake, we know that if the bark sinks it is but to another sea. We know that this cause of ours is bound to triumph, and that the American people will, one day, be convinced, if not in 1860, that the path of duty and patriotism leads in the direction of the Republican cause. It was not for us to strike down William Henry Seward, of New York. But, Mr. President, and gentlemen, as we love the cause, and as we respect our own convictions, and as we mean to be faithful to the only organization on earth which is in the van of the cause of freedom, so do we, with entire fidelity of heart, with entire concurrence of judgment with the firmest and most fixed purpose of our will, adopt the opinion of the majority of the convention of

delegates, to which the American people have assigned the duty of selection ; and as Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, is the choice of the National Republican Convention, Abraham Lincoln is at this moment the first choice of the Republicans of Massachusetts. [Enthusiastic cheers.] We wheel into line as one man, and we will roll up our 100,000 majority, and we will give our 13 electoral votes, and we will show you that the "Irrepressible Conflict" is the "manifest destiny of the Democracy." [Cheers.] The Republican party is to-day, gentlemen, the only united national party in America. It is the cause of liberty. By universal concession, it is the cause of the Union, as it is the only party in the nation which stands by the Union and holds no secessionist in his rank. Now, since the result (if it may be called a result), is known of the Convention at Charleston, the Democratic party is the only secession party in existence. That Democracy, which, with proud defiance, has arrogated constant title of "National," exists only to-day in two sections, one of which is absolutely devoted to slavery, and the other of which is opposed to liberty. [Loud cheers and laughter.] Against that party, Mr. President and gentlemen, and against all those who hold its dogmas, or preach its heresies, with whatever associates, and under whatever lead, Massachusetts comes into the line, and under Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, we are bound to march with you to victory. [Tremendous cheers.]

Mr. CARL SCHURZ: Mr. President, I am commissioned by the delegation of Wisconsin to second the motion made by the distinguished gentleman from New York. The delegates of Wisconsin were directed to cast their votes unanimously for William H. Seward, and it is unnecessary to say that the instructions we received added but solemn obligations of our constituents to the spontaneous impulses of our hearts. [Great applause.] It would be needless to say anything in praise of Mr. Seward. His claims stand recorded in the annals of the country, and they are reported in the hearts of the people. He needs no eulogy here, and my vote can

add nothing to so powerful a testimony. We, gentlemen, went for him because we considered him the foremost among the best, and to whatever may be said in his praise I will add but one thing. I now am speaking in the spirit of Mr. Seward, when I say that his ambition will be satisfied with the success of the cause which was the dream of his youth, and to which he has devoted all the days of his manhood—even if the name of Wm. H. Seward should remain in history an instance of the highest merit uncrowned with the highest honor. Gentlemen, we stood by Mr. Seward to the last, and I tell you we stand by him now in supporting Mr. Lincoln. [Applause.] With the platform we adopted yesterday, and with the candidate who so fairly represents it, as Mr. Lincoln does, we defy all the passion and prejudice that may be enforced against us by our opponents. We defy the whole slave power and the whole vassalage of hell. [Cheers universally prevailing.] Aye, and we defy the “Little Giant” himself. [Applause.] Again, do we stand by Mr. Seward as we did before—for we know that he will be at the head of our column, joining in the battle cry that joins us now, “Lincoln and Victory.” [Great applause.]

Mr. AUSTIN BLAIR, of Michigan: Gentlemen of the Convention: Like my friend who has just taken his seat, the State of Michigan, from first to last, has cast her vote for the great statesman of New York. She has nothing to take back. She has not sent me forward to worship the rising sun, but she has put me forward to say that, at your behests here to-day, she lays down her first, best loved candidate to take up yours, with some bleeding of the heart, with some quivering in the veins; [Much applause] but she does not fear that the fame of Seward will suffer, for she knows that his fame is a portion of the history of the American Union; it will be written and read and beloved long after the temporary excitement of this day has passed away, and when Presidents are themselves forgotten in the oblivion which comes over all

temporal things. We stand by him still. We have followed him with a single eye and with unwavering faith in times past. We marshal now behind him in the grand column which shall go out to battle for Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and to conquer; for, mark you, what has happened to-day will happen in November next—Lincoln will be elected with just such a shout as has been given to-day in this vast assemblage. We say of our candidate, God bless his magnanimous soul. [Tremendous applause.] I promise you that in the State of Michigan, which I have the honor to represent, where the Republican party from the days of its organization to this hour never suffered a single defeat, but has carried this standard with an increasing triumph from that day to this, we will give you for the gallant son of Illinois, and glorious standard-bearer of the West, a round twenty-five thousand majority.

MR. EVARTS: I have no wish to cut short any speeches of a general character, that are desired to be made, but I would suggest to the Convention that we have, perhaps, given a liberal share of our time to this enthusiasm at this stage in the performance of our duty. I rise, sir, merely to make a suggestion, and a motion, in regard to the subject of Vice-President and the adjournment of the Convention. Will the Convention allow me to do so?

MR. JUDD: Illinois desires to respond by Mr. Browning for a few moments.

MR. EVARTS: I did not exactly understand the nature of my friend's suggestion, but I suppose, from what has passed between him and myself, that I gather its purport, and if he prefers that Mr. Browning should speak now, before I make my business motions, it is all the same to me. [Voices, "Go on."] If I go on, he can have an opportunity to say what he wishes to say afterwards. Now, Mr. Chairman, it is half past one o'clock, and I think we require as much time as

from now till 5 o'clock, for the recess of this Convention. I would suggest, if no more desirable or rapid plan can be named, that the Chairman of each delegation, States and Territories, here present, meet at some hour in the interval, at the head-quarters of the New York delegation, at the Richmond House. Is that agreeable and convenient? [Voices, "agreed."] I would suggest, then, that they should meet at that place as early as three o'clock. Is that suitable? [Voices, "Yes," and "All right."] Then allow me to say to our own delegation that I wish they would meet at the same place, the head-quarters of our delegation, at the Richmond House, immediately after the adjournment of the Convention.

I shall move sir, now, that when this Convention adjourns, it adjourns to meet at 5 o'clock, and that the balloting for Vice-President be laid over during recess.

The motion of Mr. Evarts was carried.

MR. EVARTS: Now, Mr. Chairman, allow me to say that I have been in error or out of order all the time, and you with me also. The motion that I made, that the nomination be made unanimous, has not yet been put, I suppose a speech from my friend from Illinois will be in order.

THE PRESIDENT: The Chair begs leave to state that the gentleman has not been out of order.

MR. EVARTS: I am very glad to hear it.

MR. BROWNING, of Illinois: Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the Illinois delegation I have been requested to make some proper response to the speeches that we have heard from our friends of the other States. Illinois ought hardly on this occasion to be expected to make a speech, or called upon to do so. We are so much elated at present that we are scarcely in a condition to collect our own thoughts, or to express them intelligently to those who may listen to us. I desire to say, gentlemen of the

Convention, that in the contest through which we have just passed, we have been actuated by no feeling of hostility to the illustrious statesman from New York, who was in competition with our own loved and gallant son. We were actuated solely by a desire for the certain advancement of Republicanism. The Republicans of Illinois, believing the principles of the Republican party are the same principles which inflamed the hearts and nerved the arms of our patriot sires in the Revolution; that they have the same principles which were vindicated upon every battle field of American freedom. In the contest through which we have just passed we were actuated solely by the conviction that the triumph of these principles was necessary, not only to the salvation of our party, but to the perpetuation of the free institutions whose blessings we now enjoy, and we have struggled against the nomination of the illustrious statesman of New York, solely because we believed here that we could go into battle on the prairies of Illinois with more hope and more prospect of success under the leadership of our own noble son. No Republican who has a love of freedom in his heart, and who has marked the course of Gov. Seward, of New York, in the councils of our nation, who has witnessed the many occasions upon which he has risen to the very height of moral sublimity in his conflicts with the enemies of free institutions; no heart that has the love of freedom in it, and has witnessed these great conflicts of his, can do otherwise than venerate his name. On this occasion, I desire to say, only, that the hearts of the Illinois delegation are to-day filled with emotions of gratification for which they have no utterance. We are not more overcome by the triumph of our noble Lincoln, loving him as we do, knowing the purity of his past life, the integrity of his character, and devotion to the principles of our party, and the gallantry with which we will be conducted through this contest, than we are by the magnanimity of our friends of the great and glorious State of New York in moving to make this nomination unanimous. On behalf of the delegation, from Illinois, for the Republican party of this

great and growing Prairie State, I return to all our friends, New York included, our heartfelt thanks and gratitude for the nomination of this Convention.

The Convention then adjourned until 5 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled and was called to order by the President at 5 o'clock.

THE CHAIR announced that the first business in order was to proceed to ballot for a candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

Mr. WILDER, of Kansas: Mr. Chairman, in behalf of the Kansas delegation, I am commissioned to nominate John Hickman, of Pennsylvania, as the candidate of the Republican party for the office of Vice-President of the United States. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio: I will present the name of Senator Hannibal Hamlin of Maine. [Great cheering.]

Mr. LEWIS, of Pennsylvania: I second the nomination of John Hickman of Pennsylvania. [Applause.]

Gov. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts: Mr. President—In behalf of a large majority of the delegation from Massachusetts, and in behalf, I believe of a great majority of the people of that Commonwealth and New England, I present the name of the iron man of Massachusetts, Nathaniel P. Banks. [Loud applause.]

Mr. CALEB B. SMITH, of Indiana: In behalf of a large number of the Indiana delegation, I present the name of the gallant son of Kentucky, Cassius M. Clay. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

A DELEGATE from Virginia: With all my heart I second the nomination of Cassius M. Clay.

Mr. LOWRY of Pennsylvania: Mr. Chairman, I nominate Andrew H. Reeder of Pennsylvania and late Governor of Kansas. [Loud applause.]

The Convention then proceeded to ballot as follows, Mr. BURGESS being in the Chair:

STATES.	C. M. Clay.	Banks.	Reeder.	Hickman.	Hamlin.	Read.	Davis.	Dayton.	Houston.
Maine, ...	..	..	..	..	16	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire, ..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..
Vermont, ...	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts, ..	..	20	1	1	1	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island, ...	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..
Connecticut, ...	2	1	..	2	5	..	..	..	..
New York, ...	9	4	2	11	35	1	8	..	..
New Jersey, ...	1	..	7	..	6	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania, ...	4½	2½	24	7	11	..	..	3	..
Maryland, ...	2	..	..	1	8	..	..	..	..
Delaware, ...	3	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..
Virginia, ...	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kentucky, ...	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ohio, ...	..	..	..	..	46	..	..	..	..
Indiana, ...	18	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..
Missouri, ...	..	9	..	9	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan, ...	4	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..
Illinois, ...	2	..	16	2	2	..	..	..	..
Texas, ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Wisconsin, ...	5	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..
Iowa, ...	..	1	1	..	6	..	..	..	..
California, ...	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota, ...	1	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..
Oregon, ...	..	1	..	3	1	..	..	..	..

TERRITORIES.	C.M. Clay.	Banks.	Reeder.	Hickman.	Hamlin.	Reed.	Davis.	Dayton.	Houston.
Kansas,.....	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska, ...	1	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
Dist. of Columbia,	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total, ...	101½	38½	51	58	194	1	8	3	6

The PRESIDENT—(the result having been announced,)—No one having received a majority, the roll will be called again for a second ballot.

The Convention then proceeded to a second ballot, which resulted as follows:

STATES.	Hamlin.	Clay.	Hickman.
Maine,.....	16	..	..
New Hampshire, ...	10	..	..
Massachusetts, ...	26	..	..
Vermont, ...	10	..	..
Rhode Island,.....	8	..	..
Connecticut, ...	10	..	2
New York,.....	70	..	..
New Jersey,.....	14	..	..
Pennsylvania,.....	54	..	..
Maryland, ...	10	1	..
Delaware,.....	6	..	..
Virginia, ...	..	23	..
Kentucky,.....	..	23	..
Ohio,.....	46	..	..
Indiana,.....	12	14	..
Missouri, ...	13	5	..
Michigan, ...	8	4	..
Illinois, ...	20	2	..
Texas, ...	..	6	..
Wisconsin, ...	5	5	..
Iowa, ...	8	..	..
California, ...	7	1	..

STATES.	Hamlin.	Clay.	Hickman.
Minnesota, ...	7	1	..
Oregon, ...	3	..	2
TERRITORIES.			
Kansas, ...	2	1	3
Nebraska, ...	..	..	6
District of Columbia, ...	2	..	..
	367	86	13

Pending the ballot, when Massachusetts was called,

Mr. ANDREW, Chairman of the delegation, said: The State of Massachusetts withdraws the name of Nathaniel P. Banks, and casts her vote for Mr. Hamlin. [Applause.]

Mr. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania, withdrew the name of Gov. Reeder of Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDENT: We have a despatch from Detroit which I wish to read:

To the Republican Convention assembled in the Republican Wigwam at Chicago, greeting:

One hundred guns are now being fired in honor of the nomination of Lincoln. [Immense applause.]

THE RESULT.

The PRESIDENT: The result of the last ballot, gentlemen, I will now announce. There were cast 466 votes, 234 are necessary for a choice. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine has received 367 votes, and is nominated as the candidate of the Republican party for Vice-President.

Mr. BLAKEY, of Kentucky: In behalf of the friends of that gallant son of freedom, Cassius M. Clay, I move that the nomination of Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, be made unanimous, and in retiring from this Convention at its close, allow me to return those who have honored him with their votes, an assurance of his regards; assuring them at the same time

that in casting their votes for that gallant son, they have voted for a man whose only crime has been that he has rolled freedom as a sweet morsel under his tongue, while on his lips liberty has loved to linger. [Great applause.]

Mr. CURTIS, of New York, called for three cheers for Cassius M. Clay, which was promptly responded to.

The PRESIDENT: It has been moved and seconded that the nomination of Mr. Hamlin be made unanimous.

Mr. C. B. SMITH, of Indiana: As I had the honor of presenting to this Convention the name of Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, as a candidate for nomination for the office of Vice-President of the United States, I deem it proper that I should second the motion made by the gentleman from Kentucky to make the nomination of Mr. Hamlin unanimous. In seconding this motion I beg leave to state that in the opinion of the Republicans of the State which I in part represent, there is no one of the many distinguished advocates of the Republican party, no one of that illustrious band who are contending for the principle of freedom, who is more endeared to the great heart of the Republicans of this country than is Cassius M. Clay. It is a very easy matter for us who live upon soil unstained by slavery; who breathe the free air of States where the manacles of the slave are never seen, and their wailings are never heard, to advocate the principles of the Republican party; but, gentlemen, to advocate those principles upon the soil of slavery itself, in the very face and shadows of their altars and false gods, requires a degree of moral heroism of which but few of us can boast. I have an assurance that this cause will triumph, and that the flag of freedom will wave in triumph over the land. [Loud applause.] Let me assure you, gentlemen, when that banner which is now trailing in the dust shall be borne aloft in triumph, and its glorious folds shall be expanded to the winds of heaven, you will see inscribed upon its brightest folds in characters of living light the name of Cassius M. Clay. [Great applause.]

We have now completed the great work for which we assembled here. We have presented to this country a ticket which will command the love and admiration of Republicans everywhere, and the respect and esteem of the entire country. [Applause.] In leaving this city, and this large and tumultuous assembly, I shall leave it with an abiding confidence that that ticket will be triumphant; for let me assure you that with the gallant son of Illinois as our standard-bearer; with the distinguished Senator from Maine; with the platform which we have adopted, I feel that we stand upon a rock and the gates of hell cannot prevail against it. In behalf of my friends of Indiana, I would say that in any efforts which we have made to secure the nomination of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, we have been animated by no feeling of animosity toward the distinguished son of New York, for in no single State of the Union is the name of Wm. H. Seward more highly honored than in Indiana. [Applause.] We would not, if we could, pluck one leaf from the laurel that adorns his brow; we would not tarnish one letter in the history which will render his name illustrious in all coming time. It is not that we have loved Seward less, but because we have loved the great Republican cause more, and because, under the leadership of the gallant son of Illinois, whom, thirty years ago on the southern frontier of Indiana you might have seen a humble, ragged boy, barefooted, driving his oxen through the mountains, and who, by his own exertions, has elevated himself to the pinnacle which has now presented him as the candidate of this Convention. He is a living illustration of that spirit of enterprise which characterizes the West, and every western heart will throb with joy when the name of Lincoln shall be presented to them as the candidate of the Republican party. [Great and long continued applause.] In conclusion, I assure you that the Republican flag will wave in triumph upon the soil of Indiana.

Mr. McCRILLIS, of Maine: Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Convention—I will detain you but a single moment.

I wish in the first place to make an acknowledgment in behalf of the people of Maine for the honor that this Convention has conferred on them by selecting one of her distinguished sons as the candidate for Vice-President of the United States. Mr. President, the people of Maine were the ardent admirers and friends of William H. Seward. [Applause and cheers.] They believed that the candidate which this Convention would nominate would surely be the next President of these United States, and they charged their delegation that above all things they should select a man loyal to the spirit of human liberty—loyal to the spirit of free government, loyal to the principles upon which our fathers laid deep the foundations of this great empire—loyal to the Constitution and loyal to the Union of these States. And, Mr. Chairman, they believe that in the person of William H. Seward, the great Senator of New York, all these great qualities were combined in addition to his eminent and distinguished services to the Republican cause, and his exalted statesmanship. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Convention—However earnest we may have been in pressing the claims of our particular candidates, when the President of the Convention announced the result, all partizan feelings and differences subsided and we stood together as a band of brethren, as a united phalanx. And when the electric spark shall convey the intelligence of the nomination to the remotest portions of this Republic, every Republican will stand by his fellow, forming a united phalanx, and elect the nominees. Illinois and Maine are not only sisters in the great family of states, they are not only sisters under the Constitution—sisters-in-law, but they are by kindred and by blood. Of the people of New England thousands upon thousands are our brethren and sisters who have emigrated to Illinois and are scattered throughout the great West. And here, sir, they are among the living, and here their bones repose among the dead. In 1856, the man who is now your candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, resigned his seat as Chairman of the Com-

mittee on Commerce in the United States Senate, and was nominated for Governor of the State of Maine. Maine led the van in the conflict. In September of that year Maine electrified the nation by a vote of 20,000 majority. She led the van in that great fight. She was the star in the East—the bright star that illuminated the whole Northern horizon; she was the star of hope—like the star of Bethlehem. She came over and stood by the cause of freedom with her young and gallant leader. Mr. Chairman, I know the people of Maine well. I know that they will give a cordial and united support to this ticket. I know that from every hill, from every valley, and from every mountain—and along her rivers—along her rock-bound coast, the nomination of Abraham Lincoln will be hailed with one spontaneous, loud, long and continued shout of enthusiasm and applause; and that the people will inscribe on her banner, “Lincoln and Hamlin—Union and Victory.” [Tumultuous applause.]

The motion to make the nomination of Mr. Hamlin unanimous was then put to vote, and carried with the greatest enthusiasm.

Loud cries of “Corwin,” “Corwin.”

Mr. CARTER, of Ohio: I desire to make an apology for my colleague. Mr. Corwin has been very frequently called for in this assembly with the view of eliciting a response from him. He is now lying indisposed upon his back at a private residence in this town, and he requested me to make this apology if he should be called upon; and at the same time to give the Republicans here assembled the assurance of his full approbation of what has transpired here; and the further assurance of his labor throughout this campaign. [Applause and cries of “good,” “good,” “Corwin forever.”]

Mr. TUCK, of New Hampshire: Mr. President, I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President of this Convention, and the

Chairmen of the respective delegations, be appointed a committee to notify Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, of their nomination by this Convention as the candidates of the Republican party for the offices, respectively, of President and Vice-President of the United States.

A DELEGATE: I move to amend, by inserting the word "unanimous" before "nomination."

The amendment was accepted, and the resolution adopted unanimously.

A RESOLUTION.

Mr. GIDDINGS, of Ohio: I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That we deeply sympathise with those men who have been driven, some from their native States, and others from the States of their adoption, and are now exiled from their homes on account of their opinions; and we hold the Democratic party responsible for these gross violations of that clause of the Constitution which declares that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Resolution adopted.

Hon. HENRY S. LANE, of Indiana, was called for, and was received with many cheers. He said: Freemen of the United States, you have to-day inaugurated a grand work. No event in the history of the United States, subsequent to the Declaration of Independence, is more sublime and impressive than the event which has this day been inaugurated in this vast presence of the freemen of the United States of America. Into your hands this day is placed the grand responsibility of bearing the torch of civilization in the vanguard of freedom. I ask you to bear it aloft and upward in the light of free institutions, until the whole world shall glow with the light of our illumination. My fellow citizens, the work commenced to-day shall go on, until complete victory shall await our efforts in November. The position of many of the States of

the West may have been misunderstood. We regard to-day William H. Seward as the grandest representative of the liberty-loving instincts of the human heart which exists in the United States. In our heart of hearts we love him, and would make him President to-day, if we had the power so to do ; but we regard Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, as an equally orthodox representative of Republican principles, and the most beautiful illustration of the power of free institutions and the dignity of free labor in the United States. My fellow citizens, it is not my purpose at this late hour further to detain you. In the present contest is involved not only the well being, but the very existence of the Government under which we live. I ask you, by your action, to sternly rebuke the disunion spirit which now disgraces the politics of the United States, and to burn, hissing hot, into the brazen front of Southern Democracy the brand of disunion, as God marked Cain, the first murderer. [Great applause.] My fellow citizens, I find myself unable, after the eloquent responses to which you have listened this day, to express to you the sentiments which are in my heart. Massachusetts has responded to this nomination ; old Faneuil Hall, where the Revolution was born, and where the power of British supremacy was made to rock and reel in 1769, has responded ; New York, the Empire State ; the noble Commonwealth of Kentucky ; the Grand Prairie State of Illinois ; and Virginia, the mother of States, have responded. We shake hands and pledge ourselves to labor until a complete triumph shall await our efforts in November. My fellow citizens, some doubts have been expressed in reference to Indiana. It is a slander upon Indiana. I pledge Indiana by ten thousand majority. [Great and enthusiastic applause.] I pledge my personal honor for the redemption of that State. [Renewed applause.]

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

A DELEGATE from Indiana : I move that the roll be called, and that each delegation appoint a member of the National Committee.

The roll was then called, and the following gentlemen were selected by the respective delegations:

<i>Maine</i> , ...	Charles G. Gillman.
<i>New Hampshire</i> , ...	George G. Fogg.
<i>Vermont</i> , ...	Lawrence Brainerd.
<i>Massachusetts</i> , ...	John Z. Goodrich.
<i>Rhode Island</i> , ...	Thomas G. Turner.
<i>Connecticut</i> , ...	Gideon Welles.
<i>New York</i> , ...	Edwin D. Morgan.
<i>New Jersey</i> , ...	Denning Duer.
<i>Pennsylvania</i> , ...	Edward McPherson.
<i>Maryland</i> , ...	James F. Wagner.
<i>Delaware</i> , ...	N. B. Smithers.
<i>Virginia</i> , ...	Alfred Caldwell.
<i>Kentucky</i> , ...	Cassius M. Clay.
<i>Ohio</i> , ...	Thomas Spooner.
<i>Indiana</i> , ...	Solomon Meredith.
<i>Missouri</i> , ...	Asa S. Jones.
<i>Michigan</i> , ...	Austin Blair.
<i>Illinois</i> , ...	Norman B. Judd.
<i>Texas</i> , ...	D. Henderson.
<i>Wisconsin</i> , ...	Carl Schurz.
<i>Iowa</i> , ...	Andrew J. Stevens.
<i>California</i> , ...	D. W. Cheeseman.
<i>Minnesota</i> , ...	John McKusick.
<i>Oregon</i> , ...	W. Carey Johnson.
<i>Kansas</i> , ...	William A. Phillips.
<i>Nebraska</i> , ...	O. H. Irish.
<i>Dis. Columbia</i> , ...	John Gerhardt.

Mr. GOODRICH, of Minnesota: I am requested to state to this Convention, and to the citizens and strangers, ladies and gentlemen in attendance, that a triumphal procession will form at the head of Washington street, on Michigan avenue, at 8 o'clock this evening; and will march thence to Lake street, thence down to Dearborn street to Randolph, up Randolph to Franklin, thence to Lake street, and thence to this

Wigwam, or Tabernacle, where delegations, citizens and strangers are invited to join in one grand ratification of the nominations made to-day. [Applause.]

A DELEGATE: Mr. President—

MR. GOODRICH: I am yet charged with other matters. Be yet patient. I desire now to offer a resolution that I doubt not will meet with the cordial—[great confusion, and manifestations of impatience by the audience,]—I don't like to speak against the noise—that will meet the cordial approbation of every gentleman in this Convention.

Resolved, That the hospitality, taste, zeal and munificence displayed by the ladies and gentlemen of the city of Chicago, in aid of the great Republican cause, challenges the admiration, and deserves the hearty thanks of this Convention, and of the party throughout the United States. [Great applause.]

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

MR. GOODRICH, proceeding without having resumed his seat: One word more, Mr. President—

SEVERAL VOICES: Mr. President—

MR. GOODRICH: Perhaps the gentleman has business of greater importance and of much more pertinence on this occasion than anything I have to offer. [The tumult here became so great that speaker's voice was drowned in the noise.]

MR. CALEB B. SMITH, of Indiana: I rise to a point of order. The gentleman cannot take the floor in this manner to make a motion, and then keep the floor as long as he desires to make other motions.

THE PRESIDENT: I am afraid that the point of order will take up more time even than the gentleman from Minnesota. [Laughter.]

Mr. GOODRICH: I don't desire to trespass on the Convention. I will state, however, to the gentleman who seems curious in this behalf,—

[The audience here became impatient, and the speaker's voice was lost in the tumult. Cries of "No speech," "Read your resolution and sit down," &c.]

Mr. GOODRICH: A little more silence. [Uproarious and derisive laughter.] I have been desired to say that, inasmuch as Minnesota has not yet responded to the nominations that have been made to-day, and inasmuch as she stood up to the last moment for New York's favorite son as her choice, and in doing that she believed that she was doing that which was right, yet she bows to the will of the majority; and I am prepared to say that, however much she regrets the defeat of her favorite candidate, the vote of Minnesota at the polls will be cast for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois; [Applause; "good," "good;" "Now stop;"] and that though the delegates here labored for their first choice, yet they will be found laboring with equal zeal and energy for the nominee of this Convention. One word more. ["No, no," "Dry up."] I am not in the habit of being halloed down, even by opponents, and certainly not by friends, and the friends of the cause that I claim to be an humble advocate of.

A VOICE: If you are our friend let us go home. [Laughter.]

Mr. GOODRICH: The representatives from Minnesota feel that a seat in the Presidential chair would not add one jot to the stature of William H. Seward. Of all earthly fame has he seen the vanity. Lasting, exalted is his fame. Whenever lofty deeds—

[The audience here became impatient and vociferous in their calls to proceed to business, and the speaker could proceed no further.]

The PRESIDENT: At an early hour in the session of the Convention, two communications were received—respectful

communications from two Railroad corporations, offering to the Convention an opportunity for a visit to the Mississippi on the Chicago and Rock Island and Chicago and Galena Railroads, and laid on the table.

Mr. MURPHY, of Michigan: I have a resolution of acceptance:

Resolved, That the invitation of the officers of the Chicago and Rock Island and Chicago and Galena Union Railroads, for an excursion over the same, by the members of the Convention, be accepted, and that a committee of three be appointed to notify Mr. Talcott and Mr. Farnum of the same.

Resolution adopted, and the following committee appointed: Messrs. Murphy, of Michigan, Judd, of Illinois, and Smith, of Indiana.

Mr. WYSE, of the District of Columbia: I rise to have the record put right. [Confusion, amid which the speaker became quite excited.] I move that Mr. Harrington's name as chairman of the delegation from the District of Columbia be stricken off, and Mr. Wyse's name be put in instead.

THE PRESIDENT: Without a motion to reconsider, the motion of the gentleman (Mr. Wyse) cannot be put.

Mr. ASHLEY, of Ohio: I propose for adoption the following resolution, in order to avoid in future either two sets of delegates or the inequality of representation in the Convention:

Resolved, That the Republican National Committee, appointed by this Convention, be and they are hereby instructed to prescribe a uniform rule that shall operate equally in all the States and Territories, whereby in future the wishes and preferences of the electors in the Republican organization, in the choice of candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, may be fully and fairly ascertained, and that the basis of the nominating vote be fixed as near as may be in proportion to the number of Republican electors found to reside, at the last general State election preceding the nomination, in each Congressional District throughout the Union.

Mr. BENTON, of New Hampshire: I move that the resolution be laid on the table.

Mr. COGSWELL, of Massachusetts: I move that the resolution be referred to the National Committee.

Mr. BENTON: My resolution has precedence. I moved to lay it on the table.

Mr. COGSWELL: I withdraw my motion.

The motion of Mr. Benton, to lay on the table, was carried.

Mr. BRIGGS, of Vermont, moved that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Hon. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, for the admirable manner in which he had presided over the deliberations of the Convention.

The motion was carried unanimously.

A DELEGATE moved that the thanks of the Convention be tendered to the Vice-Presidents and Secretaries for the able manner in which they had discharged their duties.

Col. PINCKNEY, of New York: I move to amend by inserting the words, "especially the Reading Secretary," (Mr. Pratt, of Indiana).

The motion was unanimously carried.

Mr. SARGENT, of California, moved that the Convention do now adjourn, *sine die*, with three cheers for the platform and the ticket.

THE VALEDICTORY.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen of the Convention—It becomes now my duty to put to you the last motion which, in the order of parliamentary law, the President of this Convention has the power to propose. But before doing it, and before making a single other remark, I beg to tender you each and all my cordial thanks for the kind manner in which you have sustained me in the performance of the duties of this station. I confess to you, when I assumed it, I did it with some ap-

prehension that I might not be able to come up to the expectations which had been formed. It was a bold undertaking, in every respect, and I know that I could not have accomplished it half so well as I have done, but for the extreme generosity on all sides of the house. There was a solemn purpose here in the minds and in the hearts of not merely the Convention, but of the vast assemblage which surrounded us, that before we separated we would accomplish the high duty. That duty, gentlemen, we have accomplished. Your sober judgments, your calm deliberations, after a comparison and discussion, free, frank, brotherly and patriotic, have arrived at a conclusion at which the American people will arrive. Every symptom, every sign, every indication accompanying the Convention in all its stages, are a high assurance of success, and I will not doubt, and none of us doubt, that it will be a glorious success. Allow me to say of the nominees, that, although it may be of no consequence to the American people or to you, they are both personally known to me. It was my good fortune to have served with Mr. Lincoln in the Congress of the United States, and I rejoice in the opportunity to say that there was never elected to the House of Representatives a purer, truer, nor a more intelligent and loyal Representative than Abraham Lincoln. [Great applause.] The contest through which he passed during the last two years has tried him as by fire; and in that contest in which we are about to go for him now, I am sure that there is not one man in this country that will be compelled to hang his head for anything in the life of Abraham Lincoln. You have a candidate worthy of the cause; you are pledged to his success; humanity is pledged to his success; the cause of free government is pledged to his success. The decree has gone forth that he shall succeed. I have served also in public life with Hannibal Hamlin. In the House of Representatives we were ranged on different sides. He was a firm Democrat of the old school, while I was as firmly, and perhaps too much so, a Whig of the Webster school. [Applause.] But as is known to many of the gentlemen who sit here before me to-day, there was

always a sympathetic chord between him and me upon the question that has brought us here to-day. [Great applause.] And when the old divisions of party have crumbled away, and the force of circumstances have given rise to new issues, it is not strange that we are found battling together in the common cause. I say then, gentlemen, that you have got a ticket worthy of the cause and worthy of the country.

Now, gentlemen, that we have completed so well, so thoroughly, the great work which the people sent us here to do, let us adjourn to our several constituencies; and thanks be to God who giveth the victory, we will triumph. [Applause.]

A DELEGATE: Mr. President, may I suggest that when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet at the White House on the 4th of March next?

Mr. ASHMUN: No other motion is now in order, but that solemn one which must come to us all. Is it your pleasure that we now separate? As many as are in favor of the motion that this Convention do now adjourn *sine die*, say aye.

The motion prevailed, and the Convention was declared by the President adjourned, *sine die*.

Pursuant to notice given by the President of the Convention, the National Republican Committee assembled at the Tremont House, Chicago, at 8 o'clock on Friday evening, May 18, 1860, and organized by choosing Hon. E. D. MORGAN, of New York, Chairman, and GEORGE G. FOGG, of New Hampshire, Secretary. Subsequently the following persons were constituted the Executive Committee:

E. D. MORGAN, of *New York*.
 GIDEON WELLES, of *Connecticut*.
 N. B. JUDD, of *Illinois*.
 CARL SCHURZ, of *Wisconsin*.
 JOHN Z. GOODRICH, of *Massachusetts*.
 DENNING DUER, of *New Jersey*.
 GEO. G. FOGG, of *New Hampshire*.

The names and post-office addresses of the members of the committee, are as follows:

- EDWIN D. MORGAN, *Albany, N. Y.*
 CHARLES J. GILMAN, *Brunswick, Me.*
 GEORGE G. FOGG, *Concord, N. H.*
 LAWRENCE BRAINARD, *St. Albans, Vt.*
 JOHN Z. GOODRICH, *Stockbridge, Mass.*
 THOMAS G. TURNER, *Warren, R. I.*
 GIDEON WELLES, *Hartford, Conn.*
 DENNING DUER (*of N. J.*), *New York City.*
 EDWARD MCPHERSON, *Gettysburgh, Pa.*
 NATHANIEL B. SMITHERS, *Dover, Del.*
 JAMES F. WAGNER, *Baltimore, Md.*
 ALFRED CALDWELL, *Wheeling, Va.*
 THOMAS SPOONER, *Reading (Ham. Co.), Ohio.*
 SOLOMON MEREDITH, *Centreville, Ind.*
 N. B. JUDD, *Chicago, Ill.*
 AUSTIN BLAIR, *Jackson, Mich.*
 CARL SCHURZ, *Milwaukee, Wis.*
 ANDREW J. STEVENS, *Des Moines, Iowa.*
 JOHN MCKUSICK, *Stillwater, Minn.*
 ASA S. JONES, *St. Louis, Mo.*
 CASSIUS M. CLAY, *White Hall (Madison Co.), Ky.*
 D. W. CHEESMAN, *Oroville, Cal.*
 FRANK JOHNSON, *Oregon City, Oregon.*
 WILLIAM A. PHILLIPS, *Lawrence, Kansas.*
 O. H. IRISH, *Nebraska City.*
 JOSEPH GERHARDT, *Washington, D. C.*

ROLL OF THE CONVENTION.

PRESIDENT.

HON. GEORGE ASHMUN, *of Massachusetts.*

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

<i>California</i> , A. A. Sargent.	<i>New York</i> , Wm. Curtis Noyes.
<i>Connecticut</i> , C. F. Cleveland.	<i>New Jersey</i> , E. Y. Rogers.
<i>Delaware</i> , John C. Clark.	<i>New Hampshire</i> , Wm. Haile.
<i>Iowa</i> , H. P. Scholte.	<i>Ohio</i> , Geo. D. Burgess.
<i>Illinois</i> , David Davis.	<i>Oregon</i> , Joel Burlingame.
<i>Indiana</i> , John Beard.	<i>Pennsylvania</i> , Thad. Stevens.
<i>Kentucky</i> , W. D. Gallagher.	<i>Rhode Island</i> , R. G. Hazard.
<i>Maine</i> , Samuel F. Hersey.	<i>Texas</i> , Wm. T. Chandler.
<i>Maryland</i> , Wm. L. Marshall.	<i>Vermont</i> , Wm. Hebord.
<i>Massachusetts</i> , Ensign H. Kellogg.	<i>Virginia</i> , R. Crawford.
<i>Michigan</i> , Thomas W. Ferry.	<i>Wisconsin</i> , Hans Crocker.
<i>Minnesota</i> , Aaron Goodrich.	<i>Nebraska</i> , A. S. Paddock.
<i>Missouri</i> , Henry T. Blow.	<i>Kansas</i> , W. W. Ross.
	<i>Dist. Col.</i> , Geo. Harrington.

SECRETARIES.

<i>California</i> , D. J. Staples.	<i>New York</i> , Geo. W. Curtis.
<i>Connecticut</i> , H. H. Starkweather	<i>New Jersey</i> , Edward Brettle.
<i>Delaware</i> , B. J. Hopkins.	<i>New Hampshire</i> , Nathan Hubbard.
<i>Iowa</i> , William B. Allison.	<i>Ohio</i> , N. J. Beebe.
<i>Illinois</i> , O. L. Davis.	<i>Oregon</i> , Eli Thayer.
<i>Indiana</i> , Daniel D. Pratt.	<i>Pennsylvania</i> , J. B. Bell.
<i>Kentucky</i> , Stephen J. Howes.	<i>Rhode Island</i> , R. R. Hazard, Jr.
<i>Maine</i> , C. A. Wing.	<i>Texas</i> , Dunbar Henderson.
<i>Maryland</i> , William E. Coale.	<i>Vermont</i> , John W. Stewart.
<i>Massachusetts</i> , C. O. Rogers.	<i>Wisconsin</i> , L. F. Frisby.
<i>Michigan</i> , W. S. Stoughton.	<i>Kansas</i> , John A. Martin.
<i>Minnesota</i> , D. A. Secombe.	<i>Nebraska</i> , H. P. Hitchcock.
<i>Missouri</i> , J. K. Kidd.	

DELEGATES.

Maine—Eight Votes.

AT LARGE.

George F. Talbot, Machias.
Wm. H. McCrillis, Bangor.
John L. Stevens, Augusta.
Rensselaer Cram, Portland.

DISTRICTS.

1. Mark F. Wentworth, Kittery.
Leonard Andrews, Biddeford.
2. Charles J. Gilman, Brunswick.
Seward Dill, Phillips.
3. Nathan G. Hichborn, Stockton.
Geo. W. Lawrence, Warren.
4. C. A. Wing, Winthrop.
J. S. Baker, Bath.
5. Samuel F. Hersey, Bangor.
Going Hathorn, Pittsfield.
6. John West, Franklin.
Wash'n Long, Fort Fairfield.

New Hampshire—Five Votes.

AT LARGE.

Hon. Edward H. Rollins.
Hon. Aaron H. Cragin.
Hon. William Haile.
Hon. Amos Tuck.

DELEGATES.

1. Nathaniel Hubbard.
George Matthewson.
2. B. F. Martin.
F. H. Morgan.
3. Jacob Benton.
Jacob C. Bean.

Vermont—Five Votes.

AT LARGE.

E. N. Briggs, Brandon.
Peter T. Washburn, Woodstock.
E. D. Mason, Richmond.
E. C. Redington, St. Johnsbury.

DISTRICT.

1. John W. Stewart, Middlebury.
E. B. Burton, Manchester.

2. Hugh H. Henry, Chester.
Wm. Hebord, Chelsea.
3. Wm. Clapp, St. Albans.
E. B. Sawyer, Hyde Park.

Massachusetts—Thirteen Votes.

AT LARGE.

John A. Andrew, Boston.
Ensign H. Kellogg, Pittsfield.
George S. Boutwell, Groton.
Linus B. Comins, Boston.

DISTRICTS.

1. Joseph M. Day, Barnstable.
Jonathan Bourne, Jr., New Bedford.
2. Robert T. Davis, Fall River.
Seth Webb, Jr., Scituate.
3. Edward L. Pierce, Milton.
William Clafin, Newton.
4. Charles O. Rogers, Boston.
Josiah Dunham, Boston.
5. Samuel Hooper, Boston.
George Wm. McLellan, Cambridge.
6. Timothy Davis, Gloucester.
E. F. Stone, Newburyport.
7. George Cogswell, Bradford.
Timothy Winn, Woburn.
8. Theo. H. Sweetser, Lowell.
John S. Keyes, Concord.
9. John D. Baldwin, Worcester.
Edward B. Bigelow, Grafton.
10. John Wells, (sub for Geo. Ashmun, Pres't,) Chicopee.
Erastus Hopkins, Northampton.
11. John H. Coffin, Great Barrington.
Matthew D. Field, Southwick.

Rhode Island—Four Votes.

AT LARGE.

J. F. Simmons, U. S. Senate.
Nathaniel B. Durfee, Tiverton.
Benedict Lapham, Centreville.
W. H. S. Bayley, Bristol.

DISTRICTS.

1. Benj. T. Eames, Providence.
R. R. Hazard, Jr., Newport.
2. R. G. Hazard, Peacedale.
Simon Henry Greene, Phenix.

Connecticut—Six Votes.

AT LARGE.

Gideon Welles, Hartford.
Eleazer K. Foster, New Haven
C. F. Cleveland, Hampton.
Alex. H. Holley, Salisbury.

DISTRICTS.

1. S. Q. Porter, Unionville, P. O.
Leverett E. Pease, Somers.
2. S. W. Kellogg, Waterbury.
Arthur B. Calef, Middletown.
3. David Gallup, Plainfield.
H. H. Starkweather, Norwich.
4. Edgar S. Tweedy, Danbury.
Geo. H. Noble, New Milford.

New York—Thirty-Five Votes.

AT LARGE.

William M. Evarts, New York
Preston King, Ogdensburg.
John L. Schoolcraft, Albany.
Henry R. Selden, Rochester.

DISTRICTS.

1. Geo. W. Curtis, New York.
R. L. Meeks, Jamaica, L. I.
2. J. S. T. Stranahan, Brooklyn.
Henry A. Kent, Brooklyn.
3. John A. Kennedy, New York.
John A. King, Jamaica.
4. O. W. Brennan, New York.
Robert T. Haws, New York.
5. T. Murphy, 50 Dey St., New York.
C. M. Briggs, Williamsburgh.
6. J. C. Pinckney, New York.
M. B. Blake, “
7. D. D. Conover, “
John Keyser, “
8. Wm. Curtis Noyes, “
James W. Nye, “
9. E. J. Porter, New Rochelle.
John G. Miller, Carmel, Putnam Co.

10. Ambrose S. Murray, Goshen,
Orange Co.
C. V. R. Luddington, Monticello, Sullivan Co.
11. Peter Crispell, Jr., Hurley.
Henry Green, Coxsackie.
12. Albert Van Kleeck, Poughkeepsie, Dutchess Co.
John T. Hogeboom, Ghent.
13. Jonathan W. Freeman, Troy.
Gideon Reynolds, Troy.
14. H. H. Van Dyck, Albany.
H. A. Brigham, West Troy.
15. E. Dodd, Argyle, Wash. Co.
Jas. W. Schenck, Glens Falls, Warren Co.
16. Orlando Kellogg, Elizabethtown.
Wm. Hedding.
17. John H. Wooster, Newport, Herkimer Co.
A. B. James, Ogdensburg.
18. H. Churchill, Gloversville, Fulton Co.
Thomas R. Horton, Fultonville, Montgomery Co.
19. H. N. Buckley, Delhi, Del. Co.
Samuel J. Cook, Coopers-town.
20. Palmer V. Kellogg, Utica.
Henry H. Fish, Utica.
21. Giles W. Hotchkiss, Binghamton.
Benj. S. Rexford, Norwich.
22. S. F. Case, Fulton, Os'go Co.
Robt. Stewart, Chittenango, Madison Co.
23. Isaac H. Fiske, Watertown, Jefferson Co.
H. Porter, Louisville, Lewis Co.
24. Vivus W. Smith, Syracuse.
D. C. Greenfield, Baldwinsville.
25. Alex. B. Williams, Lyons.
T. M. Pomeroy, Auburn.
26. O. B. Latham, Seneca Falls.
Charles C. Shepard, Penn Yan, Yates Co.
27. Wm. W. Shepard, Waverly, Tioga Co.

- Geo. W. Schuyler, Ithaca,
Tompkins Co.
28. Wm. Scott, Geneseo, Livingston Co.
Stephen T. Hayt, Corning,
Steuben Co.
29. D. D. S. Brown, Rochester.
Alex. Babcock, Rochester.
30. Joshua H. Darling, Warsaw,
Wyoming Co.
John H. Kimberly, Batavia.
31. Wm. Keep, Lockport.
Noah Davis, Jr., Albion.
32. Alex. W. Harvey, Buffalo.
Joseph Candee, “
33. Alonzo Kent, Ellicottville.
Delos E. Sill, “

—
New Jersey—Seven Votes.

AT LARGE.

- James T. Sherman, Trenton.
Thomas H. Dudley, Camden.
Edward Y. Rogers, Rahway.
Ephraim Marsh, Jersey City.
F. T. Frelinghuysen, Newark.
Jonathan Cook, Trenton.
D. S. Gregory, Jersey City.
John J. Blair, Blairstown.
- DISTRICTS.
1. P. Ludlam, Bridgeton.
R. K. Mattock, Woodbury.
Edward Brette, Camden.
Jonathan D. Ingham, Salem.
2. A. R. Pharo, Tuckerton.
Stephen B. Smith, Pennington.
Amzi C. McLean, Freehold.
Bernard Connolly, “
3. A. P. Bethude, Washington,
Warren Co.
N. W. Voorhees, Clinton.
W. D. Waterman, Janesville.
Moses F. Webb, New Brunswick.
4. Henry M. Low, Paterson.
Wm. G. Lathrop, Boonton.
T. Cumming, Hackensack.
Henry B. Crosby, Paterson.
5. Hugh H. Bowne, Rahway.
H. N. Conger, Newark.

Marcus L. Ward, Newark.
Denning Duer, Weehawken.

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Pennsylvania—Twenty-Seven Votes.

AT LARGE.

David Wilmot, Towanda.
S. A. Purviance, Pittsburg.
Thaddeus Stevens, Lancaster.
John H. Ewing, Washington.
Henry D. Moore, Philadelphia.
Andrew H. Reeder, Easton.
Titian J. Coffey, Pittsburg.
Morrow B. Lowry, Erie.

DISTRICTS.

1. John M. Butler, Philadelphia.
Elias Ward, “
J. Money, “
Wm. Elliott, “
2. Geo. A. Coffey, “
Richard Ellis, “
F. Blackburn, “
John M. Pomroy, “
3. M. B. Mann, “
James M'Manus, “
Benj. H. Brown, “
George Read, “
4. A. C. Roberts, “
M. H. Kern, “
Wm. D. Kelly, “
M. S. Buckley, Richmond.
5. James Hooven, Norristown.
Dr. C. M. Jackson, Philadelphia.
Wm. B. Thomas, Philadelphia.
G. W. Pumroy, Philadelphia.
6. John M. Broomal, Chester.
W. Townsend, West Chester.
Jos. J. Lewis, West Chester.
Jacob S. Serrill, Darby.
7. Caleb N. Taylor, Bristol.
Joseph Young, Allen Town.
George Beisel, Allen Town.
Henry J. Saeger, Allen Town.
8. Isaac Eckert, Redding.
David E. Stout, Redding.
J. Knabb, Redding.
J. Bowman Bell, Redding.
9. O. J. Dickey, Lancaster.
C. S. Kauffman, Columbia.

- Samuel Schoch, Columbia.
 Jos. D. Pownall, Christiana.
10. G. D. Coleman, Lebanon.
 Levi Kline, Lebanon.
 Jos. Casey, Harrisburg.
 Wm. Cameron, Louisburg.
11. Robert M. Palmer, Pottsville.
 Jacob G. Frick, Pottsville.
 S. A. Bergstresser, Elysburg.
 Wm. C. Lawson, Milton.
12. W. W. Ketchum, Wilkes-
 barre.
 P. M. Osterhout, Junkhan-
 nock.
 Frank Stewart, Berwick.
 Davis Alton, Carbondale.
13. C. Albright, Maunch Chunk.
 Wm. Davis, Stroudsburg.
 Wm. H. Armstrong, Easton.
 Sam. E. Dinmick, Honesdale.
14. H. W. Tracy, Standing Stone,
 Bradford county.
 Hon. Wm. L. Jessup, Mon-
 trose, Susquehanna county.
 F. E. Smith, Tioga Point.
 Dr. Abel Humphreys, Tioga
 Point.
15. Wm. Butler, Lewiston.
 B. Rush Peterkin, Lockhaven.
 Lindsay Mehaffey, Newberry.
 G. B. Overton, Coudersport.
16. Kirk Haines, Millerstown.
 W. B. Irvin, Mechanicsburg.
 Alex. J. Frey, York.
 Jacob S. Haldeman, New
 Cumberland.
17. Wm. McClellan, Chambers-
 burgh.
 D. McCannaghy, Gettysburg.
 John J. Patterson, Academin.
 Francis Jordan, Bedford.
18. A. A. Barker, Ebensburg.
 S. M. Green, Bailey's Forge,
 Huntington county.
 L. W. Hall, Altoona.
 Wm. H. Coons, Sumerset.
19. W. M. Stenart, Indiana.
 Darwin E. Phelps, Kittanning.
 Addison Leech, Leechburg.
 D. W. Shryok, Greensburg.
20. Andrew Stewart, Uniontown.
 Smith Fuller, Uniontown.
 Alex. Murdoch, Washington.
 Wm. E. Gapen, Waynesburg.
21. Wm. H. Mersh, Pittsburg.
 Col. Jas. A. Ekin, Elizabeth.
 John F. Dravo, McKeesport.
 J. J. Siebreck, Pittsburg.
22. D. N. White, Sewickley.
 Stephen H. Guyer, Alleghany
 City.
 John N. Purviance, Butler
 Co.
 W. L. Graham, Butler Co.
23. L. L. McGuffin, New Castle.
 David Craig, New Castle.
 Wm. G. Brown, Mercer.
 John Allison, New Brighton.
24. Henry Souther, Ridgway.
 S. P. Johnston, Warren.
 Jas. S. Meyers, Franklin.
 Ben. Hartshorne.
25. B. B. Vincent, Erie.
 Thomas J. Devore, Erie.
 J. C. Hays, Meadville.
 S. Newton Pettis, Meadville.

Delaware—Three Votes.

Nathaniel B. Smithers, Dover.
 John C. Clark, Delaware City.
 Benjamin C. Hopkins, Vernon.
 Lewis Thompson, Pleasant Hill.
 Joseph T. Heald, Wilmington.
 Alfred Short, Milford.

Maryland—Eight Votes.

AT LARGE.

Francis P. Blair, Washington,
 D. C.
 Wm. L. Marshall, Baltimore.

DISTRICTS.

1. James Bryan, Cambridge.
2. James Jeffery, Churchville.
 Wm. P. Ewing, Elkton.
3. Francis S. Corkran, Baltimore.
 James F. Wagner, Baltimore.
4. Wm. E. Coale, Baltimore.

5. Chas. Lee Armour, Frederick.
6. Montgomery Blair, Washington, D. C.
- D. S. Oram, Church Creek.

Virginia—Fifteen Votes.

AT LARGE.

- Alfred Caldwell, Wheeling.
 E. M. Norton, "
 W. W. Gitt, Montgomery Co.
 Court House.
 J. C. Underwood, Clark Co.
 Court House.

DISTRICTS.

- Jacob Hornbrook, Wheeling.
 1. J. G. Jacob, Wellsburg.
 J. Applegate, Wellsburg.
 2. A. G. Robinson, Wheeling.
 R. Crawford, "
 3. Thos. Hornbrook, "
 J. M. Pumphrey, "
 4. R. H. Gray, Lynchburg.
 F. D. Norton, Wheeling.
 5. J. Underwood, Prince William
 Court House.
 J. B. Brown, Alexandria.
 6. W. J. Blackwood, Clark Co.
 Court House.
 J. L. Freeman, Hancock Court
 House.
 7. A. W. Campbell, Wheeling.
 D. W. Roberts, Morgantown.
 8. W. E. Stevenson, Parkersburg
 S. M. Peterson, "
 S. H. Woodward, Wheeling.
 9. James Wilson, "

Ohio—Twenty-Three Votes.

AT LARGE.

- Hon. D. K. Cartter, Cleveland.
 Hon. V. B. Horton, Pomeroy,
 Meigs.
 Hon. T. Spooner, Redding,
 Hamilton.
 Hon. C. Broadbeck, Dayton.

DISTRICTS.

1. Benj. Eggleston, Cincinnati.
- Fred. Hassaureck, "
 2. R. M. Corwine, "

- Joseph H. Barrett, Cincinnati.
 3. Wm. Beckett, Hamilton.
 P. P. Lowe, Dayton.
 4. G. D. Burgess, Troy.
 John E. Cummings, Sidney.
 5. David Taylor, Defiance.
 E. Graham, Perryburg.
 6. J. M. Barrere, New Market.
 Reeder W. Clarke, Batavia.
 7. Hon. Thos. Corwin, Lebanon.
 A. Hivling, Xenia.
 8. W. H. West, Bellefontaine.
 Lévi Geiger, Urbana.
 9. Earl Bill, Tiffin.
 D. W. Swigart, Bucyrus.
 10. J. V. Robinson, Jr., Ports-
 mouth.
 Milton L. Clark, Chillicothe.
 11. N. H. Van Vorhees, Athens.
 A. C. Sands, Zelaski.
 12. Willard Warner, Newark.
 Jonathan Renick, Circleville.
 13. John J. Gurley, Mt. Gilead.
 P. N. Schnyler, Norwalk.
 14. James Monroe, Oberlin.
 G. U. Harn, Wooster.
 15. Hon. Columbus Delano, Mt.
 Vernon.
 R. K. Ennis, Millersburg.
 16. Daniel Applegate, Zanesville.
 C. A. Williams, Chesterfield.
 17. C. J. Allbright, Cambridge.
 W. Wallace, Martin's Ferry.
 18. H. G. Beebe, Ravenna.
 Isaac Steese, Massilon.
 19. Robt. F. Paine, Cleveland.
 R. Hitchcock, Painesville.
 20. J. R. Giddings, Jefferson.
 Milton Sutcliffe, Warren.
 21. Samuel Stokely, Stenbenville.
 D. Arter, Carrollton.

Kentucky—Twelve Votes.

AT LARGE.

- Geo. D. Blakey, Russellville.
 A. A. Burton, Lancaster,
 Girard county.
 Wm. D. Gallagher, Pewee
 Valley.

Charles Hendley, Newport.

DISTRICTS.

1. Abner Williams, Covington.
Andrew Hawes.
2. Fred. Frische, Louisville.
E. H. Harrison, McKee, Jackson Co.
3. Joseph Glazebrook, Glasgow.
Jos. W. Calvert, Bowling Green.
4. John J. Hawes, Louisville.
5. H. D. Hawes, Louisville.
Lewis N. Dembitz, Louisville
6. Curtis Knight, Kingston.
Joseph H. Rawlings, White Hall, Madison Co.
7. H. H. Merriwether, Louisville
Henry W. Hawes, Louisville.
8. H. G. Otis, Ashland, Boyd Co.
- L. Marston, Millersburgh, Madison Co.
9. Edgar Needham, Louisville.
J. S. Davis.
10. Jas. R. Whittemore, Newp't.
Hamilton Cummings, Covington.

Indiana—Thirteen Votes.

AT LARGE.

William T. Ott, New Albany.
Daniel D. Pratt, Logansport.
Caleb B. Smith, Indianapolis.
P. A. Hackelman, Rushville.

DISTRICTS.

1. James C. Veatch, Rockport.
C. M. Allen, Vincennes.
2. Thos. C. Slaughter, Corydon.
J. H. Butler, Salem.
3. John R. Cravens, Madison.
A. C. Vorhies, Bedford.
4. Geo. Holland, Brookville.
J. L. Yater, Versailles.
5. Miles Murphy, Newcastle.
Walter March, Muncie.
6. S. P. Oyler, Franklin.
John S. Bobbs, Indianapolis.
7. Geo. K. Steele, Rockville.
D. C. Donohue, Green Castle.
8. John Beard, Crawfordsville.

J. N. Simms, Frankfort.

9. Chas. H. Test, Mudges Station
D. H. Hopkins, Crown Point.
10. Geo. Moon, Warsaw.
Geo. Emmerson, Angola.
11. Wm. W. Connor, Noblesville
John M. Wallace, Marion.

Michigan—Six Votes.

AT LARGE.

Austin Blair, Jackson.
W. W. Murphy, Jonesville.
T. W. Ferry, Grand Haven.
J. J. St. Clair, Marquette.

DISTRICTS.

1. J. G. Peterson, Detroit.
Alex. D. Crane, Dexter.
2. Jesse G. Beeson, Dowagiac.
Wm. L. Stoughton, Sturgis.
3. Francis Quinn, Niles.
Erastus Hussey, Battle Creek.
4. D. C. Buckland, Pontiac.
M. T. C. Plessner, Saginaw City.

Illinois—Eleven Votes.

AT LARGE.

N. B. Judd, Chicago.
Gustavus Koerner, Belleville.
David Davis, Bloomington.
O. H. Browning, Quincy.

DISTRICTS.

1. Jason Marsh, Rockford.
Solon Cummings, Grand de Tour.
2. George Schneider, Chicago.
Geo. T. Smith, Fulton, White-side Co.
3. B. C. Cook, Ottawa.
O. L. Davis, Danville.
4. Henry Grove, Peoria.
E. W. Hazard, Galesburg.
5. Wm. Ross, Pittsfield.
James S. Erwin, Mt. Sterling.
6. S. T. Logan, Springfield.
N. M. Knapp, Winchester.
7. Thos. A. Marshall, Charleston.

- Wm. P. Dole, Paris.
 8. F. S. Rutherford, Alton.
 D. K. Green, Salen.
 9. James C. Sloo, Shawneetown.
 D. L. Phillips, Anna.

Wisconsin—Five Votes.

AT LARGE.

- Carl Schurz, Milwaukee.
 Hans Crocker, Milwaukee.
 T. B. Stoddard, La Crosse.
 John P. McGregor, Milwaukee

DISTRICTS.

1. H. L. Rann, Whitewater.
 C. C. Sholes, Kenosha.
2. M. S. Gibson, Hudson.
 J. R. Bennett, Janesville.
3. Elisha Morrow, Green Bay.
 L. F. Frisbey, West Bend,
 Washington Co.

Minnesota—Four Votes.

AT LARGE.

- John W. North, Northfield.
 D. A. Seeombe, St. Anthony.
 Stephen Miller, St. Cloud.
 S. P. Jones, Rochester.

DISTRICTS.

1. A. H. Wagerner, New Ulm.
 Aaron Goodrich, St. Paul.
2. John McCusick, Stillwater.
 Simeon Smith, Chatfield.

Iowa—Four Votes.

AT LARGE.

- Wm. Penn Clark, Iowa City.
 L. C. Noble, West Union.
 John A. Kasson, Des Moines.
 Henry O'Connor, Muscatine.
 J. F. Wilson, Fairfield.
 J. W. Rankin, Keokuk.
 M. L. McPherson, Winterset.
 C. F. Clarkson, Metropolis.
 N. J. Rusch, Davenport.
 H. P. Scholte, Pella.
 John Johns, Fort Dodge.

DISTRICTS.

1. Alvin Saunders, Mt. Pleasant.
 J. C. Walker, Fort Madison.
2. Jos. Caldwell, Ottumwa.
 M. Baker, Congdon.
3. Benj. Rector, Sidney.
 Geo. A. Hawley, Leon.
4. H. M. Hoxie, Des Moines.
 Jacob Butler, Muscatine.
5. Thos. Seeley, Guthrie Centre.
 C. C. Nourse, Des Moines.
6. Wm. M. Stone, Knoxville.
 J. B. Grinnell, Grinnell.
7. Wm. A. Warren, Bellevue.
 John W. Thompson, Davenport.
8. John Shane, Vinton.
 Wm. Smyth, Marion.
9. Wm. B. Allison, Dubuque.
 A. F. Brown, Cedar Falls.
10. Renben Noble, McGregor.
 E. G. Bowdoin, Rockford.
11. W. P. Hepburn, Marshalltown.
 J. J. Brown, Eldora.

Missouri—Nine Votes.

AT LARGE.

- Francis P. Blair, Jr., St. Louis.
 B. Gratz Brown, St. Louis.
 F. Muench, Marthasville.
 J. O. Sitton, Hermann.

DISTRICTS.

1. P. L. Foy, St. Louis.
 C. L. Bernays, St. Louis.
2. A. Krekle, St. Charles.
 A. Hammer, St. Louis.
3. N. T. Doane, Trenton.
 Asa S. Jones, St. Louis.
4. H. B. Branch, St. Joseph.
 G. W. H. Landon, St. Joseph.
5. Jas. B. Gardenhire, Jefferson City.
 B. Bruns, Jefferson City.
6. J. K. Kidd, Linn.
 J. M. Richardson, Springfield.
7. Jas. Lindsay, Ironton.
 Thos. Fletcher, De Soto.

California—Four Votes.**AT LARGE.**

F. P. Tracy, San Francisco.
 A. A. Sargent, Nevada.
 D. W. Cheesman, Orville.
 J. C. Hinekey, Shasta.
 Chas. Watrous, San Francisco.
 Sam. Bell, Mariposa.
 D. J. Staples, Staples Branch.
 J. R. McDonald, Haywards.

Oregon—Three Votes.

Joel Burlingame, Seion, Linn
 Co., Oregon.
 H. Greeley, New York City.
 Henry Buckingham, Salem,
 Oregon.
 Eli Thayer, House Represen-
 tatives, Washington, D. C.
 Frank Johnson, Oregon City.

Texas—Six Votes.**AT LARGE.**

D. C. Henderson, Austin.
 G. A. Fitch, Austin.
 James P. Scott, San Antonio.
 H. A. Shaw, Little Elm, Den-
 ton Co.

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DISTRICTS.

1. Gilbert Moyers, Galveston.
 Donald Henderson.
2. M. S. C. Chandler, Galveston.
 C. E. Simmons.

Kansas.

A. C. Wilder, Leavenworth.
 John A. Martin, Atchison.
 Wm. A. Phillips, Lawrence.
 W. W. Ross, Topeka.
 A. G. Proctor, Emporia.
 John P. Hatterschiet, Leaven-
 worth.

Nebraska—Six Votes.

O. W. Irish, Nebraska City.
 S. H. Elbert, Plattsmouth.
 E. D. Webster, Omaha.
 John R. Meredith, Omaha.
 A. S. Paddock, Fort Calhoun.
 P. W. Hitchcock, Omaha.

District of Columbia.

1. Geo. Harrington, Washington.
 Joseph Gerhardt, "
 G. A. Hall, "
 J. A. Wyse, "

